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Carmichael, Andrew.
A memoir of the life and
philosophy of Spurzheim

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MEMOIR OF SPURZHEIM.

"New opinions are always suspected, and usually opposed, without any other reason, but because they are not already common; but Truth, like gold, is not the less so for being newly brought out of the mine."

LOCKE.

"The harmony of a science, supporting each part the other, is, and ought to be, the true and brief confutation and suppression of all the smaller sort of objections."

LORD BACON.

"The enquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it—are the sovereign good of human nature.

"Certainly it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

LORD BACON.

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A MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

OF

SPURZHEIM.

BY

ANDREW CARMICHAEL, M.R.I.A.

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DUBLIN; AND PUBLISHED AT THE DESIRE OF THAT SOCIETY.

"Friend of Man—of God the Servant;
Advocate of truths divine;
Nature's Priest—how pure and fervent
Was thy worship at her shrine!"

Rev. Mr. Pierpont's Ode at the Funeral of Spurzheim. Nov. 17, 1832.

DUBLIN:

PUBLISHED BY W. F. WAKEMAN, 9, D'OLIER-ST.

LONDON: SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, AND R. GROOMBRIDGE:
AND JOHN ANDERSON, JUN. EDINBURGH.

1833.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY P. D. HARDY, CECILIA-STREET.

TO THE

PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, AND MEMBERS OF THE PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DUBLIN,

IS INSCRIBED

THIS imperfect and inadequate Memoir of the efforts and triumphs of our common Friend. Justly attached to him, you extend your good-will to every thing connected with his name; and too hastily presume, that whatever is interesting to you will prove of equal interest to the world. Your wishes are commands to me; and they have been obeyed. Yet we may find that the world will sympathise but little with us, in the studies we pursue, or the loss we deplore.

Amongst you are many of the most valued and attached of my Friends. To each and to all, these pages are dedicated; but particularly to HIM, who, more partial still than others, imposed this task as a sacred duty upon me—who, ardent in the cause of TRUTH, yet delights in QUIET as his element—and whose affectionate, cheerful, philosophic, rationally-religious converse has mingled such rare felicity with so many of my hours. Next: to HIM, of similar dispositions, but more adventurous daring—equally a man of peace,

yet shrinking from no field of controversy—alike in diversified excellence, alike in unvarying kindness, and alike in the happy inclination to encourage and approve. Again: to HIM, who was the first to commend, and call forth the commendations of others—to HIM, and to every one, who reflected back his good-nature, and re-echoed his suffrage; and who, I am confident, will form an union of talent, energy, and information, amply qualified to disseminate through the community the principles and influence of Phrenology—ambitious as they must be to emulate the example of that highly-gifted body, which is the ornament and the boast of the Athens of Britain—

"THE PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

To the Members of that enlightened Association, whose breath has dissipated the mists of ignorance, prejudice, and malignity, which overclouded the horizon, not only of their own, but of many another realm, I also tender my devoted homage. But particularly to HIM, who was first and last in the sacred cause—always persevering, always indefatigable, always victorious; and who, more than all others, participates in our present regret, because, more than all others, he knew the value of SPURZHEIM; and is competent to appreciate the magnitude of a bereavement like THIS, to the disappointed affections of Friends, and the unsatisfied wants of Society—who already has achieved such HERCULEAN labours in vindication of THE TRUE SCIENCE OF MIND—who alone can replace the

unwearied ATLAS we have lost; and sustain the ponderous burthen he so proudly upheld.

AND lastly, I am desirous to include, in my warmest professions of respect and admiration,

THE PHRENOLOGISTS OF BOSTON,

AND

THE OTHER CITIZENS OF AMERICA,

who, trained to liberty, untrammelled by prejudice, and disdaining every species of mental bondage, sought, from the opposite side of the globe, an Instructor, well knowing how to emancipate Minds from the despotism of Error, and establish the commonwealth of Truth and Nature, Freedom and Morality, Reason and Religion. Every city, every village, every university, every school of art and academy of science, thirsted for the promised stream of knowledge; but while it yet poured its living waters, the source was dried up—the current ceased to flow. How inscrutable are the ways of Providence! The good intended by God is always, in the end, accomplished—yet how seldom accomplished by the means expected or prescribed by man. In the mid-day exertion of his resplendent usefulness, SPURZHEIM perished. It is for Providence, who has the will and the power, to repair this great calamity.

The Americans *at first* welcomed him as a stranger—*early*

they acknowledged him as a Friend—*too early* they wept over him as a Brother. At this side of the Atlantic, with the tears of sorrow for the man, are mingled tears of applause, of gratitude, of sympathizing affection, an unextorted tribute of the heart, to that great people, who knew so well how to honour distinguished Worth, and consecrate the memory of distinguished Wisdom and distinguished Virtue.

A MEMOIR,

&c. &c.

THE world has lost another benefactor.—The FOUNDER of Phrenology, that science teeming with the amelioration of society and the happiness of the species, was soon followed by his equally illustrious *coadjutor*.—Gall is no more—Spurzheim is no more. They are both beyond the influence of their presumptuous, arrogant, envious, shallow, malignant adversaries—and may peaceably take their places in the temple of Fame, among the Bacons, the Harveys, the Newtons, and the Lockes; and the *noblest* inmates of the fane will not disdain to see them grace even *loftier* pedestals than their own.

At the close of our last session we were extolling the magnanimity of our celebrated friend, in disregarding the quiet of home and the discomforts and sufferings of an Atlantic voyage, to visit, in the autumn of his days, a land of strangers, in the simple hope of being serviceable to mankind, by planting his science in ano-

ther hemisphere. We anticipated the welcome those strangers would give him—we anticipated the vigour with which his science would flourish in that new and healthy soil—we were proud to believe that, under his own skilful and fostering hand, it would overspread that mighty continent—and above all, we strenuously hoped, that the disappointments and vexations he had too often and too bitterly experienced in Europe, would be expunged from his recollection in America; and that the triumph of his doctrines, the increased splendor of his reputation, and the idolatry of his new friends (for the friendship with which Spurzheim was ever regarded was almost idolatry) would encompass him with a halo of happiness beyond any he could look for at this side of the Atlantic.—But we did not anticipate—we did not expect, that, at the opening of this session—so soon—so suddenly—we should have to lament that his active usefulness had ceased—his enlightened labours ended. Yet we have still wherewithal to console us. It is true, his lamp of life is extinguished; but he has not left the world in darkness; he has lighted up a flame in every civilized region of the earth. Philosopher after Philosopher—Phrenologist after Phrenologist may die—but Phrenology *can never perish*—IT IS EVERLASTING, LIKE THE OTHER TRUTHS OF GOD.

John Gaspar Spurzheim was born on the 31st of December, 1776, at Longuich, near Treves, on the Moselle, about sixty or seventy English miles from its

confluence with the Rhine, at Coblentz. It is stated in recent public journals, that his father was a farmer, and educated him for the clerical profession. He acquired the first rudiments of Greek and Latin in his native village; to which, he added Hebrew at the university of Treves, where he matriculated in 1791, in his fifteenth year, and where he also entered upon the study of Divinity and Philosophy, of both of which, in his riper years, he was a consummate master. In 1792, the republican armies of France overran the south of Germany, and seized upon Treves. Spurzheim retired to Vienna, where he was received into the family of Count Splangen, who entrusted to him the education of his sons.

Gall, at that time, was settled as a physician in Vienna, and had in his charge many of the hospitals, and other public institutions requiring medical superintendence. His house was open to every one who wished for information in his newly discovered science. In 1796, he delivered his first private course; but it does not appear that Spurzheim attended his lectures until 1800; and even, at this time, they continued to be private. "He then spoke of the brain as the general organ of the mind—of the necessity of considering the brain as divided into different special organs—and of the possibility of determining those organs by the development of individual parts of the brain, exhibited in the external configuration of the head. He admitted organs of different specific memories, and of several

feelings,"[1] particularly language, constructiveness, colour, tune, locality, form, number, and individuality; and these he chiefly dwelt on as organs of memory, and did not advert with much attention to the other powers and propensities inherent in them, although the second in the list (and I have named them in the order in which they were discovered) obviously consisted more of an intellectual impulse than a memory.

Such was the physiological state of the science when Spurzheim became a convert to its doctrines, in his twenty-third year. Its condition, with respect to anatomy, was equally imperfect. Gall was sensible that physiognomical means alone, were not sufficient to discover the physiology of the brain; and that anatomy was a necessary coadjutor. He was confirmed in this conviction, by observing a poor woman affected with hydrocephalus, who, though reduced to great weakness, continued to possess an active and intelligent mind. After her death, four pounds of water were found in her head; the brain was much distended, but not destroyed or dissolved; he therefore concluded, that the structure of this organ must be very different from what it was commonly supposed to be.

As Gall's time was greatly occupied by his professional duties, he employed a student to dissect for him. Mr. Niclas' investigations were, however, conducted according to the old school, and with mere mechanical views;

[1] See Spurzheim's notes to Chenevix's pamphlet on Phrenology.

but, from the moment Spurzheim became the associate of Gall, which was in 1804, the anatomy of the brain assumed a new character. He specially undertook the prosecution of the anatomical department; and in their public and private demonstrations, he always made the dissections, and Gall explained them to the students.

Before he united with Gall he had terminated his studies in the medical schools; he was, therefore, at full liberty to devote all his time and intelligence to the science, which, even at its first opening upon him, had fascinated his understanding; and which continued through life his occupation, his pleasure, and, in a double sense, his glory. With redoubled zeal, and accumulated power, they pursued their investigations together. Their reflections on the existence of so many specific memories, altogether different, soon led them to a discovery still more important. They observed that those who possessed a peculiar memory were gratified in exerting it, and felt a pleasure in pursuing the objects connected with it. Those endowed with a *verbal* memory had a strong propensity to exercise it in recitation, or in the study of languages; while those who were remarkable for a *local* memory, entertained a similar inclination to visit a variety of places, and observe and compare the diversified relations of sensible space, and so of the memory of persons, tunes, facts, &c. It therefore naturally occurred to their understandings, that the organs of the mind are very different from those supposed by philosophers, from

Aristotle down to Locke, Reid, and Stewart; and that there is not a general perception which takes cognizance of all sensations—a general memory which retains the recollection of names, numbers, places, tunes, facts, and every kind of object—a general imagination which combines them in new forms, and a general judgment which compares and ascertains their differences; but, that the organ of language, the organ of space, the organ of number, the organ of music, are gifted, at once, with their own separate and distinct perception, memory, imagination, and judgment, and actuated by a propensity to exercise their respective faculties on their appropriate objects. They, therefore, were led to believe, that each organ was devoted to a special purpose, not hitherto imagined by philosophers; and, in subservience to that purpose, was separately endowed with all the faculties, which, till now, were ascribed to the understanding at large.

Animals, whose intellectual powers are so much inferior to those of man, obviously possess perception, memory, judgment, and imagination, though restricted within a narrow and limited range of exercise. But, they can neither abstract, nor generalize, nor discern the relation of cause and effect. It may then be considered an argument for the existence of those separate and peculiar powers of perception, memory, judgment, and imagination, that other animals possess those gifts as well as man, in proportion to the organs with which they are endowed, whether few or numerous. But if they

can exercise their understandings in comparing such objects as are under the cognizance of any one of their organs, and even exerting the power of invention in a partial and unconnected manner, they can probably go no farther. They cannot, like man, bring into one general comparison the divers objects of all their organs; and analyze, select, and combine, the similar and kindred, the remote and heterogeneous materials of invention, scattered through different regions of the brain. Man, alone, enjoys this privilege; and it became the first object of the united labours of these philosophers to discover the organ of this important faculty. Among men remarkable for the talent of illustrating one circumstance by another, and bringing together particulars that create a reciprocal light, they found the organ of comparison.—Among those who studied the philosophy of mind and the phenomena of nature, they found the organ of causality.

Gall had been led to the discovery of all the organs he had yet ascertained, by observing the *actions* of individuals, and attending to their *mental operations* in a state of *activity;* such, for example, as the facility in recollecting and repeating whatever series of words had been committed to memory—skill in the mechanical arts, designing, and music—the exercise of memory in respect of places, persons, numbers, events and pheno mena—the propensity to travel, to calculate, to search after knowledge, to compare the analogies of things, to ascend to causes, to descend to effects. These several

faculties during their activity and manifestation in individuals, betrayed one after another the seat of their respective organs. It was, therefore, not surprising, that Gall, when he abandoned the beaten track of the schools, after an irksome and unprofitable search for general organs of memory, judgment, and imagination, should seize with eagerness, the conjecture, that every class of actions might have an appropriate organ in the brain. In considering, therefore, the most striking and energetic actions of men, he noticed rapine, murder, and lust—he observed benevolence, justice, and piety—unshaken firmness, and hesitating caution—pride wrapped in its own opinion, ambition wrapped in the opinions of others—cunning that succeeds in the dark—violence, courage, and magnanimity, that disdain any but an open triumph. He visited the prisons, the hospitals, the schools, and the churches of Vienna; and he found organs which he did not hesitate to name as the organs of theft, murder, and cunning, benevolence, and religion. He considered the actions of men, whether good or evil, as necessarily flowing from the organization they received from nature, without adverting to the primitive power their organs were destined to exercise in a healthy and unvitiated state. But as no man is a universal genius, it was here his philosophy was eclipsed by that of his coadjutor. Spurzheim had the merit of pointing out the primitive powers of the different organs, and discriminating between the institutions of God, and the *abuses* of those institutions.

Gall continued to leeture in his own house, at Vienna, until the government of Austria, in 1802, thought proper to interdict his lectures. He lingered, however, for three years in that city: but, at length, on the 6th of Mareh, 1805, he and his fellow-labourer took their departure together, with the intention, however, of returning to this, their home, if a more liberal spirit should arise. But this spirit has not yet arisen in Austria. They first visited the parents of Gall, who resided at Tiefenbrun, near Pforsheim, in Swabia; and various invitations from the northern universities of Germany, indueed them to go from place to plaee, disseminating their doctrines, making new observations, eolleeting facts in every region they visited, satisfying public curiosity, whieh had beeome intense on the subjeet, and establishing a renown whieh may now bid defianee to every assailant.

Their first seientifie visit was to Berlin, whieh they entered, on the 17th of April, 1805. There they pursued their phrenological investigations in the prisons and hospitals; and repeated their anatomical demonstrations in the presence of the medieal professors and numerous auditors. Outlines of their lectures were published by Professor Bischoff. From Berlin they went to Potsdam, thence to Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle. At Halle, their leetures and demonstrations were attended by the very Reil from whom they were charged with pillaging the self-same discoveries, in the structure of the brain, which, on that oecasion,

they taught him, both in public and private dissections. —His own acknowledgments, were, "I have seen more in the anatomical demonstrations of the brain, by Gall, than, I conceived, a man could discover in the course of a long life." In the same year they visited Weimar, Jena, Gottingen, Brunswick, Hamburgh, Kiel, and Copenhagen. In 1806, they visited Bremen, Munster, Amsterdam, Leyden, Frankfort, Heidelberg, Manheim, Stutgard, and Fribourg. In 1807, they visited Marbourgh, Wurtzbourg, Munich, Augsburgh, Ulm, Zurich, Berne and Bâle. They either lectured on, or demonstrated the brain in each of those cities; and Doctor Knoblanch, of Leipzig, Doctor Bloed, of Dresden, and many other scientific men, followed the example of Professor Bischoff, in publishing outlines of their anatomical and physiological views, and other works connected with the subject. Their classes were well attended; but the great mass of the learned remained unconverted. They are now, however, repenting of their injustice to their distinguished countrymen; they are investigating the truth of the science with ardour; and a translation of Gall's great work into his native language, has, at length, appeared.

In the autumn of 1807, they arrived in Paris; and in the presence of Cuvier, Fourcroy, Geoffroy de St. Hilaire, Dumaril, Demangeou, and others, they dissected the brain, and repeated their demonstrations before many learned societies. Here, at length, they became tired of wandering; and determined on re-

maining a few years. In this city they continued their investigations and lectures. The objections made to their doctrines, on the ground of the intellectual powers evinced by hydrocephalic patients, induced them to renew their anatomical studies with still greater ardour; and they were, at length, enabled to demontrate, that the convolutions of the brain consist of a double pellicle, and that the water insinuating between the parts, unfolds and distends them into the form of a thin and expanded vesicle; and which, they argued, might retain, to a considerable extent, the original powers of the brain. They also entered into the minutest examination of every part of the brain and nervous system, and presented a memoir on the subject, in the year 1808, to the French Institute. It was referred to a committee of five, amongst whom was the celebrated Cuvier. Their report was favourable to Gall and Spurzheim in some parts, they differed from them in others; and as to some of their discoveries, they gave the merit to other anatomists. But little pleased with this report, Gall and Spurzheim vindicated their claims to originality in their answer, and maintained the utility of their discoveries, and the truth of their demonstrations, with so much vigour and perspicuity, that there never was any reply on the part of the Institute.

In 1810, they published, conjointly, in the French language, their "Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System in general, and of the Brain in particu-

lar." But neither their writings or lectures, seem to have made, at that period, many converts in the capital of France. There is no adversary to truth so powerful any where, as the force of ridicule; and among the French, it seems to have double power; unfortunately, phrenology in its infancy was too open to this assailment; and where was the Frenchman that would offer himself as the champion, even of truth, at the hazard of being thought ridiculous? Spurzheim got weary of endeavouring to teach those who were ashamed to learn, and hoped, that England would prove a more practicable field. His separation from Gall took place in 1813. He first, however, returned to Vienna, to take his degree of M. D., leaving Gall in Paris, where he was desirous of establishing himself as a physician.

Spurzheim passed over to England in 1814, and in the same year, delivered lectures in London, which were well attended. He lost no time in publishing a large volume, which he entitled, "The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, founded on an Anatomical and Physiological examination of the Nervous System in general, and of the Brain in particular, and indicating the dispositions and manifestations of the Mind." This work appeared in 1815, and instantly, a swarm of reviewers fastened on it. The Quarterly, the Eclectic, the British, the Edinburgh, the Critical and the Monthly, the London Medical Repository, and the British Critic, all exerted their powers of ridicule, invective and argument; not a reviewer

was found to stand up in defence of these *novel truths* —not one had the sagacity to perceive that they were *truths*—or having the sagacity, it was their duty as reviewers, to extinguish them because they were *new*.

The Quarterly affords a splendid specimen of witty malignity—The Edinburgh, a miserable specimen of malignity without wit. For instance, the writer of this review compliments these itinerant philosophers, quacks, mountebanks, and men of skulls, on their superior cleverness in discovering that a man's reputation as well as his health may often be prolonged by a little well-timed locomotion. "There is indeed nothing," continues this reviewer, "in the shape of reasoning calculated to mislead in their whole writings. Not one clever sophistry to captivate; nor even an occasional successful induction to redeem; nothing but a perpetual substitution of assertion for demonstration, and conjecture for fact. Were they even to succeed in shaking off the suspicion of *mala fides*, which we apprehend is inseparably attached to their character, we should not hesitate to say, that we do not know any writers, who with a conceit so truly ludicrous, and so impudent a contempt for the opinions and labours of others, are so utterly destitute of every qualification necessary for the conduct of a philosophical investigation."*

The reviewer is so heartily tired of the mass of non-

* Edinburgh Review, June, 1815, p. 227

sense he has been obliged to wade through, that he could most willingly *have done.* But the *anatomical discoveries* of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim are on no account to be passed over in silence; for it appears to him, that in this department they have displayed more QUACKERY than in any other; and their BAD FAITH is here the more unpardonable that it was so much more likely to escape detection."* "The writings of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim have not added *one* fact to the stock of our knowledge respecting either the *structure* or the *functions* of man; but consist of such a mixture of gross errors, extravagant absurdities, downright misstatements, and unmeaning quotations from scripture, as can leave no doubt, *we apprehend,* in the minds of honest and intelligent men as to the *real ignorance,* the *real hypocrisy,* and the *real empiricism* of the authors."†

Such was the beneficent harbinger that preceded the advent of Dr. Spurzheim to this country at the close of the same year. He arrived in November, 1815, bu found every mind poisoned against him by these liberal and philosophic effusions.—I did not myself escape the infection. It was with difficulty I was persuaded to enter his lecture-room; but having then an abundance of leisure, I thought a few hours would not be much mispent in indulging an idle curiosity, and reap-

* Edinburgh Review, June, 1815, p. 254. † Id. 268.

ing some little amusement where I could hope but for little information.

I listened to his first lecture, expecting it to breathe nothing but ignorance, hypocrisy, deceit, and empiricism. I found it fraught with learning and inspired by truth; and in place of a hypocrite and empiric, I found a man deeply and earnestly imbued with an unshaken *belief* in the importance and value of the doctrines he communicated.

I listened to his second lecture, and *I adopted his belief.* I was satisfied of the importance and value of those doctrines, and exulted in participating those treasures of knowledge, of whose enjoyment the Edinburgh Review had well-nigh overreached and swindled me.

I listened to his third lecture, and perceived, with all the force of thorough conviction, that there was nothing of any value in the metaphysics of ancient or modern schools, except so far as they coalesced and amalgamated with the new system. From that hour to the present, I have regarded the science with increasing confidence and unalterable devotion. More certain or more important truths the divine finger has not written in any of the pages of nature, than those which Spurzheim, on this occasion, unfolded to our examination—our study—our admiration.

He was attended by a large and intelligent class of both sexes, and consequently made many ardent converts to phrenology in this city. Indeed, whoever

listened attentively to his lectures, must, voluntarily or involuntarily, become a disciple. Of the numbers who received his instructions, I have personally known only three who were not convinced of the truth and value of his doctrines.

In January, 1816, he went to Cork, where he delivered two courses. In a letter from that city he observes:—"From the beginning the fair sex has been favorable to our science: it is so in Cork. Very few of the medical profession think proper to be interested in our investigations, and prefer dinners and suppers to phrenology. The greater number of the gentlemen are occupied with mercantile speculations; ladies, alone, turn their minds toward scientific pursuits. Those ladies who attended my first course of lectures are desirous of repeating the lesson, and are anxious that their friends may partake of their satisfaction, so their will be done."

In February he returned to Dublin and delivered two concurrent courses, repeating in the evening the same lecture he had given in the morning. Many attended both; and though the topics were the same, his language, manner, and illustrations varied so much, that his auditors felt unabated gratification whenever they heard him.

In the beginning of March he left Ireland and arrived in Liverpool, where he remained two months, waiting for fine weather to visit the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland. He found that the reviewers

had formed the publie opinion there as elsewhere. He however delivered a course to a small elass, not expecting to make an extensive impression, but merely to give a better opinion of the objeets of phrenology, to those who attended his leetures. The leading men seemed to him to be governed by a mercantile spirit; and those who wished to be looked on as seientifie, were too jealous to eneourage knowledge which was not their own. He, however, left behind him in Liverpool, many attached and immutable friends to his seienee and himself.

In May he visited the publie institutions of Manchester and Laneaster, and felt great delight in viewing the lakes of Laneashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. In June he made an extensive tour in Seotland, by Glasgow, Dumbarton, Inverness, Banff, Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling, to Edinburgh. During his exeursion he dwelt with pleasure on the lakes, vallies, and mountains; but the inhabitants of the highlands engrossed the greatest share of his attention. "Scotland," he says, "eontains several races of inhabitants. The genuine highlanders, are *entire feelings:* aecordingly, I would consider them as the warmest friends, or the most dangerous enemies, always aeting by strong feelings. They have adhesiveness, eombativeness, destructivcness, seeretiveness, self-esteem, approbation, firmness, and individuality strong: many have eautiousness. The upper part of the forehead is

mostly narrow; tune is good—order is almost wanting, of this I have seen many confirmations."*

On the 24th of June he arrived at Edinburgh; that city which was then up in arms against his doctrines; but is now the strongest of the fortresses leagued in their defence. He brought with him many letters of introduction, and amongst them one addressed to Doctor Gordon, the head of the party against him, and the well-known writer of that article in the Edinburgh Review which so cruelly and unjustly maligned himself, his principles, and his science.

"Generally speaking," he says, "I am very politely received by every one to whom I am introduced. There are parties; but I shall not interfere with any one. I wish to know them all, and shall make it a peculiar business to study their individual characters. I was naturally anxious to face my conscientious reviewer. The first day I presented myself at his door he was out. The servant advised me to come back on the next morning, between ten and eleven o'clock. I was there at ten. He again was out. On the third day, at nine o'clock in the morning I found him. In reading the letter of introduction he kept good countenance. Then he feigned not to know me at all, supposed me to be quite a stranger in Edinburgh, and asked whether I had never been before in this

* In his letters Spurzheim specified the organs by their numbers; for sake of perspicuity I have preferred giving their names.

town? He could not bear my facing him, and was evidently embarrassed. I put him at his ease, as much as I could; spoke of the institutions, the university, the plan of teaching, &c."

"The next morning I breakfasted at Dr. Thompson's, whose partner he is. He came there, but more embarrassed than when I saw him at his house. *He feels his bad conscience.* I shall see how far he will mend. His partner, who has certainly contributed to the review, is an old fox, and may have escaped other snares. *He knows better to keep countenance.* I attend the lectures of both. *I shall never know the reviewer;* but keep every where the same free and open language, and provoke him to appear if he like truth."

"I had also an interview with JEFFREY, the editor. I was introduced to him at the hall of the Courts. He asked me whether I was a stranger in Edinburgh? Whether I had come from London? and, whether I intended to make a long stay here? Yes! to give to the Edinburghers opportunity to learn what I maintain. He replied: *To instruct them.* I merely say, to show what I maintain. He: We are infidel incredulous. *I:* IN NATURAL HISTORY THERE IS NO BELIEF. WE MUST SEE THE THINGS. Then he was called off to plead. Hence our conversation was short, but long enough to see that he is a *rogue** with self-conceit.

* In Spurzheim's language this merely means an adept in the *savoir faire.*

He has a fine forehead, combativeness, covetiveness, secretiveness, self-esteem; not much cautiousness, and less approbation, firmness, and ideality. I shall see more of him. The melo-drame has only begun. Its evolution requires time; at the end I shall give you a description of the scenes."

He kept his word. The next scene was his triumph over his reviewer, by proving in the presence of himself and his class, and the most eminent members of the Faculty in Edinburgh, the truth and importance of his anatomical discoveries.

"From the beginning," says Spurzheim, "I requested these gentlemen not to lose an opportunity of getting a brain. The partner of the reviewer, surgeon of the Military Hospital, furnished me with arms to combat them in their own lecture-room. Indeed I could never have expected such a gratification. The whole happened accidentally, but I could not wish it more favorably. I gave notice to a few of my friends that the opposite party might not be alone. The reviewer was to lecture at *two* to his class. I intended to cease and continue after; but he was so kind as to yield his hour to me; so that I had the pleasure of demonstrating the brain *to his own class* at his lecture table in presence of himself, Drs. Thompson, Barclay, Duncan, jun., Irwin, Emery, and many others."

"There could not have been a better brain, every thing was clear and satisfactory. The poor reviewer was in the most disagreeable predicament. However,

as I was at his table I did not wish to appear unpolite. I did not mention him; and it was not necessary as he was known to the audience. I only stated: *This is denied,* and then made the preparation. We are accused of such a thing, or blamed for shewing such or such a structure. And then I presented the structure in nature. At the same time I had our plates at hand, and asked the audience, whether they represented the preparations, as I had made them. The answer was always affirmative."

"The reviewer avoids me entirely. After the lecture he went immediately to his little room. His partner spoke to me, and mentioned that now he will study our plates."

"You perceive by this that I have taken a strong position, and am no longer on the defensive. My friends, who are in opposition to the reviewer's party, tell the story every where; and I continue to invite every one to procure me an opportunity of showing what we maintain. As to the anatomy, complete victory is no longer doubtful, because competent judges were present; and with that gratification I shall begin to speak to the public in November. The poor reviewer, as Physiologist, can scarcely avoid to come. I shall invite him, and he must be prepared to undergo a severe discipline. I certainly shall provoke him to appear, if he like candour and truth. I was right in showing, at my lectures in Dublin, a form of head which *could not be that of my reviewer.* He has too

much self-esteem, approbation, firmness, and secretiveness; but not sufficient of cautiousness and comparison."

"Instead of retracting, he thinks he can make believe that his Review is true. In conformity with the Review, he opposed my demonstration, and denied what others admitted, and disputed about words and definitions. The battle was quite unique. He lost his temper, while I remained calm. He ascribed to me things which I had never maintained. I was twice obliged to provoke him to show where he had read his proposition. He looked for the meaning in my book; and, instead of finding it, found its opposite."

"The ground on which I actually stand (23d September, 1816) is much more solid than I had expected. I was prepared to be much longer afloat in this city; but, I can assure you, it was very easy to take a strong position. From what I have done, the greatest curiosity is excited. The unfavorable impression which the reviewer had propagated is mostly removed from this place. Our doctrine is no more quackery or trash; on the contrary, there is more anxiety here to become acquainted with it, than in any other city of the united kingdoms. Since I left Germany, I have not observed a greater enthusiasm. I have far the greatest number in favour. Only Doctor Gordon and his satellites are opposed to me."

"I have dissected the brain on various occasions, and the anatomy is now admitted by Professor Monro,

Drs. Barclay, Rutherford, Saunders, Duncan, Abercrombie, Bell, Pryce, and hundreds of inferior weight in anatomy. I have also given six lectures on the physiological and philosophical part, to show what the thing is, and not what it has been represented; and I have quite attained my object. I had made it known only among friends; but the number of the audience increased every day, so that in the sixth lecture, Dr. Barclay's lecture-room was scarcely large enough. They stood even to the staircase."

"I am on friendly terms with almost all the professors; but Gordon has placed himself in such a situation, that he can no more attend my lectures: he is known as the reviewer, and I shall treat him with the greatest freedom and openness. I showed here, in one of the six lectures, the two heads with the anti-reviewer form which I exhibited in Dublin, and provoked the reviewer to appear, and show that he is blest with such a configuration. When speaking of pride, I stated that my reviewer must have that organ large, and wished that he might prove the contrary, by producing his own head. They all applauded this observation."

Before he left Edindurgh he delivered two public courses, which were received with great approbation by the numerous auditors that attended them. Amongst them, however, was not to be found the reviewer, or any of his satellites. "None of them," says Dr. Spurzheim, "had candour enough to look at the proofs which I submit to the judgment of my auditors. It

seems the opponents find it more easy to deny than to examine."

In the midst of the anatomical contests he thought that the readiest mode to put an end to the misrepresentations of Dr. Gordon, and, at the same time, fix the attention, and guard against the misconception of his auditors, would be to publish a prospectus of the anatomical propositions maintained by himself and Gall. This was accordingly done, and produced the most beneficial results: Gordon was instigated by his friends, and particularly by Jeffrey, to comment on this prospectus in a pamphlet—not as a nameless reviewer, but under the overwhelming authority of his own formidable name. Spurzheim, however, was not overcome, but gave him a decisive and satisfactory reply before he left Edinburgh, in a pamphlet which he entitled "Examination of the Objections made in Britain against the Doctrines of Gall and Spurzheim." In a letter on this subject, Spurzheim observes that Gordon did not in his pamphlet defend the statements he advanced in the Edinburgh Review, but employed his principal force to prove that they had no claim to originality; and that their ideas of the anatomy of the brain, were known a hundred and fifty years ago. Spurzheim adds, that his answer was considered in Edinburgh as quite satisfactory.

Before he took his final departure from that city, he honoured Dugald Stewart with a visit. He waited on him with an introductory letter at his country resi-

dence; but Dugald Stewart refused to receive this distinguished visitor. He probably, however, lived to regret that he had suffered his petulance or prejudice, in an unhappy moment, to so far diminish the magnitude and weight of his long-established character, in the indignant regard of this high-minded man.

During his stay in Scotland he was anxious to see James Mitchell, of Nairne, in Morayshire, of whom Dugald Stewart has given an account, and who was born blind and deaf. "I would not miss the opportunity," says Dr. Spurzheim, "of comparing his organization with the previous manifestations of his mind, which cannot be considered as the result of education, but of internal impulse and intuitive reflection. You may conceive that I have derived great pleasure from finding his organization conformable to the manifestations of his mind. He is intelligent and good-natured; so is the brain. The coronal part is more developed than behind the ears. He has adhesivness, destructiveness, secretiveness, approbation, benevolence, comparison and causality strong. Self-esteem and cautiousness are less. Destructiveness is active under opposition, or if he likes to get rid of any thing. When he has got new clothes, of which he is very fond, he has torn the old ones and thrown them into a river, in order to prevent his relatives to give them to him again. In short, there are many facts which prove the activity of the organs I have mentioned. I had, twice, long conversations with his sister, who takes so

great pains in his treatment; and I was three hours with Mitchell himself. He is twenty years of age and stout."

I have dwelt thus long on Dr. Spurzheim's visit to Scotland, because that visit was the cause of permanently establishing his doctrines in the British islands, and more widely diffusing them over other regions. It was in Edinburgh he had the good fortune to meet Mr. Combe—to convince him of the truth of his science, and to leave him not only an enthusiastic disciple, but a practical and skilful master and teacher of phrenology. Since we have lost Spurzheim he is now the main buttress and support of this noble edifice. He was the first to establish a phrenological society in his native city, and to contribute to the establishment of similar societies elsewhere. They have been numerous in the British empire, on the Continent and in America, and have even reached Van-Diemen's Land, almost our antipodes. They were requisite in the infancy of the science. In a little time it will flourish, like astronomy and chemistry, without adventitious assistance. Under his auspices also the phrenological journal has greatly advanced the interests of this science—and his convincing and powerful writings, have left the adversaries of phrenology little now to object, and its friends little more to desire.

On Spurzheim's return to London, after a little repose, which was necessary after so much excitement and so many conflicts, he resumed his lectures, and de-

livered alternate courses in the city, and west end of the town, which were well attended. His permanent residence was in Foley-place, Portland-street. But he frequently accepted invitations to lecture in the larger towns of England, and wherever he lectured he grafted a durable and flourishing scion.

He occasionally visited Paris, and permanently (as he then conceived) settled there in the year 1818. For at this juncture he married Mademoiselle Perier ; and so attached were her relatives to this amiable man, that they induced him to make that city his biding place. At that period the press of France was comparatively free, and the progress of truth, if not encouraged by the government, was at least not repressed. He delivered his lectures to large and attentive classes, and was prosperous, comfortable, and happy. Mrs. Spurzheim was a pleasing, accomplished, and valuable woman. Those beautiful drawings which Spurzheim exhibited at his lectures were the production of her pencil. In the year 1820 I had the gratification of witnessing their prosperity, comfort, and happiness, at their hospitable mansion in the Rue de Richelieu, in Paris. But their enjoyments were not long permitted to continue. The Jesuits contrived to mine their way to a predominating influence with the French government—the liberty of the press was curtailed—and public lectures were forbidden without a state licence. But discussions whether political, scientific, or religious,

are equally unpalatable to the Jesuits; and at that period (1822) the Jesuits governed the government.

By the law as it then stood, Spurzheim might have lectured to a class of twenty individuals; but he was refused a licence to instruct a larger class. I do not know how long he struggled with this oppression; but during his residence in Paris, he published his "Observations sur la Phrenologie ou la Connaissance morale et intellectuelle, fondèe sur les fonctions du Système Nerveux." This was in 1818. In 1820, he published his "Essai Philosophique sur la nature morale et intellectuelle de l'homme," but for a few years he distributed his time, as circumstances induced him, between France and England.

In May, 1826, he writes from his residence, Gower-street, London, "The pleasure to see you and my friends in Dublin is postponed. I return to France for the present, and am willing to pay a visit to Dublin at the beginning of the next winter, if a class can be assured. If this be impossible, I remain in England. Here the progress of phrenology is extraordinary. I have lectured at the London Institution to such an audience as never before was brought together by any scientific subject."

In the interval which he divided between Paris and London he published several works in the English language: his essay on the principles of Education, Philosophical principles of Phrenology, Observations on In-

sanity, Sketch of the natural Laws of Man, Anatomy of the Brain and Nerves, and other smaller works, some of which have passed through more editions than one. His great work on Phrenology had arrived at its third edition in 1825.

In 1827, he lectured at Cambridge, where he was received with distinguished respect. The use of the public lecture-rooms of the University were granted to him by the Vice-Chancellor. But the liberality of Cambridge has become proverbial as contrasted with the moody and bigoted spirit of her learned sister.

He also lectured with the most triumphant success at Bath, Bristol, and Hull; and from the last mentioned town continued his journey to Edinburgh, where he arrived, by invitation, in the first week of January, 1828. He was accompanied by Mrs. Spurzheim.

On this occasion his reception formed a strong contrast to that which he had experienced eleven years before. There was no longer the smile of incredulity, or the watchful look, eager to pounce on the expected blunder, extravagance, or absurdity; but all was sincere respect, profound attention, and anxious cordiality. He delivered two general courses; and a third confined to the anatomy and pathology of the Brain; and on those several occasions his classes were numerous, respectable, and intelligent.

But the most gratifying incident accompanying this visit, was a dinner given in honour of Dr. Spurzheim,

by the Phrenological Society, on Friday, the 25th of January. The enthusiasm of that day will not readily be forgotten by those who had the happiness of being present. The most conspicuous were Mr. Combe, Sir George Stewart Mackenzie, the Honorable David Gordon Haliburton, Mr. Neill, and Mr. Simpson, all active, energetic, laborious, devoted phrenologists.

Powerful must have been the impression when Mr. Combe, the president of the day, proposed the health of Dr. Spurzheim; and avowed the pleasure he took in repeating that he owed every thing he possessed in the science to him; that his lectures fixed his wandering conceptions, and directed them to the TRUE STUDY OF MAN. But where is the phrenologist whose heart does not respond to his glowing asseveration, that were he at that moment offered the wealth of India, on the condition that phrenology should be blotted from his mind for ever, he would scorn the gift; nay, that were every thing he possessed in the world placed in one hand, and phrenology in the other, and that he were required to choose one, phrenology, without a moment's hesitation, would be preferred.

Perhaps Spurzheim's happiness was at its height, when he heard the eloquent lips of his friend thus continue his eulogium—"How would we rejoice to sit at table with Galileo, Harvey, or Newton, and pay them the homage of our gratitude and respect; and yet we have the felicity to be now in company with an

individual whose name will rival theirs in brilliancy and duration ; to whom ages unborn will look with fond admiration as the first great champion of this magnificent discovery ; as the partner in honour, in COURAGE, and in toil, with Dr. Gall ; as the rival in genius of him by whose master-mind the science of man started into existence."

But a burst of sympathising plaudits accompanied his words as he proclaimed "Dr. Spurzheim, my friends, is an historical personage ;—a glory dwells on that brow which will never wax dim, and which will one day illuminate the civilized world. His greatness is all moral and intellectual. Like the sun of a long and resplendent day, Spurzheim, at his rising, was obscured by the mists of prejudice and envy ; but, in ascending, he has looked down upon and dispelled them. His reputation has become brighter and brighter as men have gazed upon and scrutinized his doctrines and his life. No *violence* and no *anguish* tarnish the laurels that flourish on his brow. The recollections of his labours, are all elevating and ennobling ; and in our applause he hears not the voice of a vain adulation, but a feeble overture to a grand strain of admiration which a grateful posterity will one day sound to his name."

Striking, impressive, and affecting was Dr. Spurzheim's reply. "I never felt so much the want of mental powers necessary to express the gratification and gratitude I feel. This day is for me a day of joy,

which I never hoped to see. My joy would be complete were Dr. Gall amongst us. Dr. Gall and myself often conversed together about the future admission of our doctrines. Though we relied with confidence on the invariable laws of the Creator, we, however, never expected to see them *in our life time* admitted to such a degree as they actually are. I often placed my consolation IN MAN BEING MORTAL, or *in future generations*, to whom it is generally reserved to take up new discoveries. BUT WE ARE MORE FORTUNATE."

I cannot dismiss this most convivial and interesting of meetings without adverting to an incident that places in a strong light, the high respect and affectionate estimation with which women were regarded by this amiable man. The vice-president, Mr. Simpson, in a speech at once humourous, earnest, and philosophic, in commendation of the sex, particularly that portion of them who had the sagacity to perceive, and the good sense to embrace the truths of phrenology, concluded by proposing " with all the honours, the health of Mrs. Spurzheim, and all the Matrons and all the Maids who devote themselves heart and soul to Phrenology." Dr. Spurzheim rose and said, " Mr. Chairman—Gentlemen—As Mrs. Spurzheim has had the honour to be named at the head of the females who study Phrenology, I think it is incumbent upon me to thank you in *her* name. There can be no doubt among phrenologists, that the minds of ladies should be cultivated as well as ours, to fit them for their social

relations and duties. With respect to Phrenology in particular, I am convinced *that among an equal number of ladies and gentlemen, a greater number of* THE FORMER, *are fitted to become* PRACTICAL PHRENOLOGISTS: that is, to become able to distinguish the different forms and sizes of the head in general, and of its parts in particular. The reason seems to be, because girls and women, from the earliest age, exercise the intellectual powers of configuration and size, more than boys and men, in their daily occupations."

"You have already done justice to those mothers whose influence has been great on the education of their children. It is also evident, that ladies may greatly contribute to the diffusion of phrenology in society, and may make frequent use of it in practical life. But if ladies do render service to phrenology, this science will also be of great advantage to them—*I may say, of the greatest advantage,* AFTER CHRISTIANITY. The fate of women is very unfortunate amongst savage and barbarous tribes; and their condition was very hard in the Jewish dispensation, since every man was permitted to give a bill of divorce to his wife, if it was his good pleasure to dismiss her; whilst CHRISTIANITY re-established THE LAW as it was *from the creation.*— Phrenology teaches us to appreciate women, as well as men, according to their personal merit of talent and virtue. You may daily observe that boys resemble rather their mother than their father in mental dispo-

sitions; and it is known that GREAT MEN generally descend from INTELLIGENT MOTHERS."

These observations contain a sufficient refutation of of the heartless and ill-sustained sarcasm with which his memory has been assailed by a foreign pretender to phrenological acumen, who maintains, with as much presumption as if he had been daily in his society, that "in his youth, manhood, and advanced age, Doctor Spurzheim showed, if not an *aversion*, at least a sort of indifference for the fair sex."* "And as for his fondness, attachment, and love for his wife," this skilful phrenologist is willing to ascribe them to his conscientiousness, self-esteem, approbation, veneration, acquisitiveness, or any other cause, rather than his kind, disinterested, and affectionate dispositions—his fervent and cordial adherence to those who were worthy of his friendship or love.

During the sixteen years in which I had the happiness of knowing him, I had many occasions to witness his value for women, and the pleasure he derived from their conversation and society; and this also I witnessed—that the pleasure was reciprocal. Spurzheim had no aversions—or, if he had, they were reserved for affectation, presumption, hypocrisy, and vice: whatever shape they might assume, male, feminine, or angelic, his very nature would intuitively have recoiled from their contact.

* The Lancet, No. 489. p. 496.

His character was manly, decided, and bold; yet this empty defamer has dared to stigmatize him as a coward: he had "little physical courage," forsooth.* His physical courage was at least on a level with that of the generality of men; but as to his moral courage, his firmness and resolution, few indeed were his equals. He excelled in that true and genuine spirit of fortitude and heroism, which is not partieipated with the brutes, but is peculiar to mankind.

In the same gossiping and disparaging temper, this writer avers that Dr. Spurzheim was inclined to acquire wealth, and was not eminently generous; but to this it may justly be replied, that little was the wealth he acquired; and that, without the means, it was scarcely in his power to be eminently generous. From my own knowledge I can assert, that he was eminently kind-hearted and eminently hospitable: but the inaccuracy of one anecdote of this eulogist leads me to doubt the authenticity of the rest. He states, that in 1824 Dr. Spurzheim married, and that he was then advanced in age. He married near six years before this period; and he had not reached his 42d year.—True, he had then no pretensions to youth; but he was not advanced in age. The words almost imply decrepitude.

But it is amusing to contemplate the display of grotesque and ludicrous self-sufficiency, and vanity, with

* The Lancet, No. 489. p. 497.

which this accomplished phrenologist delivered a lecture on his own proper cranium; and found it bursting at all points with every rare excellency, and even its deficiencies constituting perfections;* yet in his lecture on Spurzheim's,—one of the most perfect of heads,—it shrunk, under his hands, into all that was little, and weak, and mean, and pusillanimous. Happily he affords us a clue to his adjudications, in his candid admission, that though he felt only obstinacy towards Gall, to Spurzheim he experienced aversion.†

But why, it may be asked, have these miserable detractions, which cannot outlive the detractor, been suffered to intrude upon the harmony and conviviality of the happy feast we have just been enjoying? I am tempted to blot them out as of no worth or interest; but perhaps they ought to be retained as a curious record of the last effort of malignity which shall assail the character of this illustrious man.

A circumstance of much more interest is, that, in the course of a few months after this memorable day—that day on which Spurzheim declared that his joy would have been complete had Gall been present to participate with him, in the most intellectual city of the British dominions, the gratification of witnessing, what he never expected to enjoy in his lifetime, the triumphant reception of his novel doctrines—in six

* See the Lancet, No. 483. p. 319. † Id. id. p. 318.

months after that day, on the 22d of August, 1828, terminated the invaluable life of the Founder of Phrenology.

Imbued with the spirit of Spurzheim, and animated by the enthusiasm the scenes I have described must have inspired, Mr. Combe visited Dublin in April, 1829, and delivered a course of lectures which created a new fervour in the cause of phrenology. On occasion of that visit, and arising out of his exertions, this society was founded. At his departure, he earnestly recommended that Dr. Spurzheim should be invited to give his powerful assistance to the complete establishment of the science in this city. He accepted the invitation; but in consequence of the lamented death of his wife, he did not arrive until March, 1830. His friends found him much changed in appearance; his equanimity was the same, but his recent loss had made considerable inroads on his health and strength. He, however, amply fulfilled the promises, made by those who had known him, to those who were strangers to his extraordinary powers. He added many converts to the science, and increased the number of his personal friends; but it must be confessed, that his class was but small when considered in reference to the immense numbers in this populous city, that ought to have had some little curiosity upon so new, so strange, and so all-important a subject.

On this occasion, the Royal Irish Academy elected him an Honorary Member. In complimenting such a

man, this body did more honor to themselves than to him.

Another instance may be noticed of the high estimation in which he was held in Dublin. At a public dinner, to which he was invited by the Protestant Dissenting Congregations of Strand-street and Eustace-street, General Cockburn in the chair, his health was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Drummond, after some prefatory observations to the following effect:—

"Though we subscribe to no human authority in questions of religion, we know how to appreciate the sanction of great names, and cannot help attaching some value to such of our opinions as are approved by those giants of intellect, who adorn human nature and illuminate the world. If he who unfolded the true system of the universe, and established the truth of that system on principles of mathematical demonstration—if he who has made such profound researches into the philosophy of mind, as to have distanced all his precursors in that department of inquiry—and if he, again, who has soared highest in the 'heaven of invention,'

> 'Into the heaven of heavens who has presumed,
> An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air'—

if the greatest of natural philosophers, of metaphysicians, and of poets, when they brought their great mental powers to the examination of certain religious questions, arrived at the same conclusions as we have

reached ourselves, we think that those conclusions derive from them a beauty, a lustre, a degree of certainty not to be lightly esteemed, The opinions of such mighty master-minds as Newton, Locke, and Milton, in doctrines of theology, are the more to be prized, when we consider that, in them, they could be the result only of conviction—and that they were embraced in opposition to the prejudices of their own education, and to the prevailing, the established, and fashionable doctrines of their age. And should any new science spring up, and come like another revelation from heaven to pour light on the world of mind—to penetrate the dark recesses of thought—to display all the exquisite machinery of the brain—to tread the labyrinth of intellect, and unfold the matchless wisdom and benevolence of the Creator in the constitution of man; should such a science ever appear, and should its great expounder and demonstrator be seen among us, I dare venture to affirm, that he would have a just claim to be classed with those illustrious sages who have been named—a claim founded not less on his having the same exalted ideas of God and of all moral and religious truth, than on his being animated by the same sublime spirit of philosophy—yes; he would be a congenial spirit—a kindred star in their magnificent constellation. Such a science has appeared!—such a man is among us!—and you already anticipate the name of the esteemed and eloquent advocate, and founder of that unlooked-for science, Dr. Spurzheim, who this day honors our company by his presence."

The health of Dr. Spurzheim was drank with every demonstration of cordiality and respect, by the numerous and most respectable company assembled on this occasion. In returning thanks, his natural character singularly displayed itself when he observed—that though he seldom addressed speeches to convivial parties, yet he could not refrain, on the present occasion, from expressing the high satisfaction he enjoyed, to meet so many intelligent minds engaged in the noblest of all pursuits—the pursuit of truth. "This augurs well," said he, "for the future improvement and progressive amelioration of mankind. Such minds are now found in every civilized country. Men are gradually acquiring courage to burst the trammels of error, ignorance, and prejudice. The human intellect is awakened to the investigation of truth throughout all the regions of polities and religion, physical science and mental philosophy."

"Genuine philosophy and genuine religion are very nearly akin. The one explores the elder volume of nature: the other investigates the later volume of Divine Revelation. Both unite in their practical results; both promote the present improvement of man; both conduce to his ultimate felicity. Without attaching myself particularly to any of the religious denominations in the British Islands, I cannot but express my approbation of the liberal and enlightened views of that class to which the present meeting belongs. I admire their universal good will; I admire their fearless and zealous

pursuit of truth; I admire their patient forbearance amidst calumny and misrepresentation. These must gain them the respect even of their opponents; these prove that they have caught the meek and generous spirit of Him, whose religion it is their object and end to vindicate from all corruption and abuse. May you prosper and be happy!"

He went from Dublin, by invitation, to Belfast. His class was but small; but he says, "I am accustomed to take things as they present themselves; in this way I am never deceived in my expectation. They say that the season is unfavorable, since many families are gone to the country; yet I must say, that the influential men here, behaved with great liberality towards me, in offering the Lecture-room at the Academical Institution. I also believe that all the medical men of note, all the literary characters of Belfast, and the leading divines, as Dr. Bruce, Mr. Montgomery, and Dr. Cooke attend my lectures. Hence the seed which I sow here will not fall on mere rocks. The interest they take seems to increase in proportion as I go on. I am anxious to see whether Dr. Drummond* will break off in the midst as he intended, and told me he would do."

I preserve this little trait of vanity, as a curious inmate in so mighty a mind; and I trust it was gratified to its fullest extent, by finding that Dr. Drummond

* James Drummond, Esq. M. D.

could not possibly break off in the middle of a course of Dr. Spurzheim's

This was in the beginning of June, 1830. He returned to London, and travelled to Paris before the end of the month. There, to use his own expressions, he found an opportunity of gratifying his Eventuality, during July, August, and September. He witnessed the revolution which placed Philip on the throne of *the French.*

In November he returned to England, and delivered a course of lectures in Liverpool. But there was then all the turmoils of a contested election in that town; and people were too busy with politics, to attend with much interest to phrenology. From thence he went to Oxford: but spiritual pride and learned ignorance were as detrimental to the cause of truth in that seat of the Muses, as passion and party feeling in commercial Liverpool. His own words are remarkable: "I intended to lecture in December at Oxford; but the Vice-Chancellor did not seem to approve of my doing so. I asked for his worshipful permission by letter,—but he gave an evasive answer, not allowing or refusing, but *advising* me not to lecture, since I might not meet with the encouragement I might expect. I replied, that his permission was the only encouragement I wanted; but he did not think proper to give either a refusal or the permission: he remained silent. How happy we are that priestcraft has no more power.—Oxford does in 1830 what the Jesuits did in 1822, and the Austrian government in 1802. The signs of the

times, however, are strong; but the clergy will be satisfied only where they command.",

He passed the remainder of the month with some attached friends in Liverpool, Manchester, and Derby—and in January delivered a course at the Literary Institution in Bath.

The Phrenological Society of Dublin was desirous to profit by the impression made by Dr. Spurzheim's late course; and such numbers had been wailing their misfortune in not having availed themselves of his instructions on that occasion, that the Society thought it was imperatively called upon to request another visit from Dr. Spurzheim. He accepted the invitation, and arrived in April, 1831.

Numbers of these wailers and procrastinators lost this last opportunity, and may now wail that they have lost it for ever. It is those who have most leisure who generally fling away their time. It was the busy, the active, the industrious and laborious — those whose very minutes are counted and allocated—that contrived to snatch their daily hour for those lectures; and well were they repaid.—Treasures of knowledge worth more than treasures of gold—unexpected truths, of more value than the unexplored diamonds of Golconda, were their reward. They now know what phrenology is, and how much it was misrepresented, and listen to the shallow and antiquated declaimers against this invaluable system of mind and morals, as they would listen to an infidel in the truths of astro-

nomy endeavouring to argue, that the sun turned round the earth, and that the earth stood still in the centre of the ecliptic.

On this occasion Spurzheim delivered two courses of lectures—his general course, which was received with intense interest and frequent bursts of admiration, and a second shorter course, which was confined to the anatomy and pathology of the brain, with a cursory view of its physiology, intended for those students who had not the good fortune to attend his general course. Immense as was the mass of information communicated to his classes, it was obvious that his mind was overflowing with a redundance of additional information on every topic on which he addressed them; and that twelve lectures, though each extended to the duration of an hour and a half, were altogether inadequate to give a full vent to the results of his extensive experience, vigilant observation, and powerful reflection. His course, like those on chemistry, natural philosophy, medicine, and moral philosophy, ought to have embraced a period of months, instead of being contracted to the narrow span of two or three weeks. Of this Doctor Spurzheim was fully sensible; and at this time he was very desirous of being appointed Professor of Anthropology in one of the Universities. Indeed, his friends for a considerable period entertained the hope that the leading men of London College would have offered him the chair in that liberal institution—and who could have filled it with so much ad-

vantage to the public as this gifted and profound philosopher?

Who, like him, could boast an intimate acquaintance with all those branches of science, of such inestimable value to mankind, that he had made the perpetual objects of rational, judicious, successful investigation? Who, like him, had fathomed the depths of research in so many neglected and important regions of knowledge:—the indispensable conditions on which the improvement of the human race depends—the true and practical mode of educating our children, so as to cultivate every good, and repress every mischievous tendency of their nature—the national provisions, whether legislative or executive, necessary for the prevention of pauperism and crime—the practicability of reforming criminals, in every instance where means and motives can operate, and rendering, as a last resourse, the utterly incorrigible of some utility to the state—of ascertaining the true nature of idiocy and insanity, and how far, in the latter, the excesses of the feelings, and the aberrations of the intellect, may be corrected—HOW OUR MIND IS CONSTITUTED—how much, in its operations and affections, it is animal, how much it is human—how far we are bound by the trammels of NECESSITY—how far we are *free and accountable* creatures—and lastly, the origin and sanction of our rights and duties, as rational, moral, and religious beings—thus comprehending the whole circle of considerations, mental and corporeal, physi-

cal and metaphysical, in which man has any momentous interest or concern.

If this rational, just, and honorable step had been taken by any of our universities; if, as was confidently expected, the London college had appointed him to the chair of Anthropology, the world might still have been in the enjoyment of the useful, enlightened, and invaluable services of this wisest and best of men; and, under his auspicies, society might possibly have gained an advance of half a century or a century, in the general progress of improvement. But the college lost this splendid opportunity of acquiring instant and perpetual renown, and society an early accession of blessings unnecessarily deferred from the present to some future generation.

Spurzheim left Ireland with a determination to devote the remainder of his days to the labours of this professorship, had the exertions of his friends in his favour proved successful. In the event of a disappointment, his intention was to bid adieu to England, and remain in quiet, unambitious comfort with the relatives of his late wife, in Paris. They were affectionately attached to him, particularly M. Perier, his brother-in-law—and M. Perier's residence was in fact his home.

He had not been long settled in his new abode, when he received pressing invitations from various scientific bodies in Boston and other cities of the United States, to cross the Atlantic, for their instruction in

the true philosophy of mind. He could not resist so favourable an opportunity of doing good, and doing it to so vast an extent as seemed to be insured by such an invitation. He assented; and resolved to visit America during the summer of 1832.

He was always a sufferer from sea-sickness, even in the shortest voyages; and to encounter a long one, with such a constitutional predisposition, required some magnanimity. In the spring of 1832, some friends of mine, who were greatly attached to Spurzheim, visited him at Paris. He had at that time come to the determination of crossing to the United States; and my friends were remonstrating with him on his imprudence, in braving the inconveniences and hazards of such a voyage, and asked him, what could possibly compensate him for all that he must necessarily endure? His simple and emphatic reply was, "Shall I not see Channing?"

I trust he did see that distinguished and excellent man. The communion of two such minds, on any occasion, must bring peculiar gratifications to both—but coming into collision so unexpectedly, and from such distant regions of the globe, they must have enjoyed a double portion of happiness. The first moment they met, their friendships must have been cemented for life: but life affords but a frail tenure to friendship or happiness.

On the 20th of June, 1832, he sailed from Havre to New York, full of the hope of establishing his doc-

trines from Canada to the Floridas. "He was to have lectured in all the towns—even the villages were preparing to invite him." The good he would have done is incalculable. On the 17th of September, he commenced a general course of lectures in Boston. That city has not a population amounting to one-third of the population of Dublin; yet his class was twice or thrice as numerous as any that ever listened to him here. It exceeded three hundred, and frequently amounted to double that number. It is with regret and shame I advert to the contrast.

He lectured in Boston three evenings in the week; and in the alternate evenings he lectured at Harvard University, Cambridge, a short distance from Boston. In the mornings he delivered occasional lectures to the Medical Faculty on the structure and uses of the brain; and such was the interest and admiration he excited, that his time was in constant demand. Added to these continued engagements, a peculiarly changeable climate had an unfavorable influence on his constitution. Sudden changes exposed him to cold; and an incautious transition from a warm lecture-room to the evening air was attended with debilitating effects. This variety of causes brought on, at first, a slight indisposition, which, if it had been attended to, might have been easily checked. Regarding his illness of less consequence than the delivery of his lectures, he exerted himself for several days; when prudence required an entire cessation from labour. This was the

fatal step. Cold produced fever; and this imprudence settled the fever in the system. He was averse to all active medical treatment from the beginning, and resorted to the simplest drinks and mildest remedies. He was confined to his room about fifteen days; in which time his disease assumed a more alarming aspect until the 10th of November. At eleven o'clock at night, the world was deprived of this extraordinary man.

"The most skilful of the Medical Faculty in this city" (continues the able and benevolent writer, from whom I have borrowed those details) "were unremitting in their attendance upon him; and we had two or three physicians with him constantly both day and night. The interest, the exertion, and the strong desire to save the life of so valuable a man, were deep and sincere in the hearts of his friends. All within the power and reach of feeble man was extended for his relief; but it was the will of Divine Providence that he should quit for ever the scene of his labour, love, and glory.

"His death has cast a gloom over our city. It is not lamented with the cold formality of the world. It produces grief of the most poignant character; and it is expressed in the deepest tones of human affliction. Although he had been with us but a few weeks, his virtues and worth were known and acknowledged. His amiable manners, his practical knowledge, his benevolent disposition and purposes, his active and diserimi-

nating mind, all engaged the good opinions even of the prejudiced, and won the affections of the candid and enlightened."

On Saturday the 17th of November, the last solemn offices were paid to this distinguished individual. Crowds attended him to his grave—no votary of science or lover of truth, in that enthusiastic metropolis, was absent—eulogies were pronounced*—requiems were sung. His body, which had been embalmed, lies enclosed in a leaden coffin, in one of the vaults of the beautiful cemetery of Mount Auburn; and it is intended to erect over his remains a monument to his memory.

This ebullition of feeling and respect for departed excellence reflects the highest honour on the people of America. Their children will, through future ages, visit the tomb of Spurzheim, and shed tears of pride to the memory of their fathers.

Never did there exist a philosopher more amply accomplished for the pursuit and promulgation of truth. Sanguine, energetic, laborious and indefatigable in his researches—calm, patient, candid, and liberal in his discussions—plain, simple, unpretending, and warm-

* I regret that the eulogy delivered on this remarkable occasion by Dr. Follen, and of which report speaks so highly, has not yet reached this country. I should have been desirous to have incorporated, in my text, this splendid specimen of transatlantic eloquence.

hearted in his manners—penetrating and sagaeious as to his understanding, profound and various as to his acquirements, he was exquisitely fitted to develop, illustrate, and establish his doetrines. No wonder that in every soil whieh he has visited he has planted this new seion of knowledge, and of every assemblage of his students ereated a circle of admirers and friends.

The original discoverer of these novel truths will justly stand in the highest ranks as a philosopher; not only as being the first who struck out this undreamt of road to knowledge, but beeause he ventured to shake off the trammels of the sehools, and was bold enough to deelare, "THIS IS TRUTH, ALTHOUGH IT BE AT ENMITY WITH THE PHILOSOPHY OF AGES." But next to him in eelebrity is the man who adopted without reserve or jealousy the reeent and unreceived discoveries of another—who dissipated the mists that darkened this new field of seience—and showed, in the light of day, that they were useful and neeessary propensities and affeetions, pure moral and intellectual powers, and not their oeeasional abuses and defects, which were the gifts of God to man.

In referenee to this distinguished individual, it has been said with great force and truth, "that phrenology is essentially the seience of morals; and Spurzheim praetised the doctrines whieh he taught. He was eminently virtuous, and uniformly denounced vice as the parent of misery. He had profound sentiments of religion, in harmony with reason. He was simple

in his tastes—eminently kind, cheerful, and liberal in his disposition—capable of warm and enduring attachments, and in his habits, temperate, active, and laborious."

It may be added, though of less importance, that he was tall and muscular, and of a large and powerful frame. His countenance was illuminated by his mind. It was open and generous, honest and benevolent;—and one of his votaries has remarked, that his head afforded the finest specimen that could possibly be selected, to sustain the doctrine to which he had devoted his life.

It will here be naturally asked, what new light has phrenology thrown upon the science of mind; and in what respects has it altered or improved this branch of philosophy? But it will surprise many, and among them not a few phrenologists, to be told, that some of our profoundest metaphysical writers indulged in opinions not merely coalescing with the new doctrines, but actually identical with them, and corroborating with tenfold strength the truths of phrenology, as being discovered by a widely different mode of investigation—in which the philosopher merely watched and examined the phenomena of his own mind; but never dreamt of extending his researches to the minds of other men or other animals—the material organs in which those minds reside, or the external forms created by the various powers and faculties of those minds.

Many careless readers eoneeive, that when Locke disproved the existenee of innate ideas, he also disproved the existence of innate powers, faeulties, tendencies, dispositions, propensities, or by whatever other name they may be designated. But nothing can be more eontrary to the views of Loeke. He strongly insists on the existenee of those powers in the mind, and maintains a plurality of them with as much liberality as any phrenologist. I shall refer in the margin to the most striking passages I have met with in his writings, on this point.[1] Other moral and metaphysieal writers, before him and after him, also entertained analagous opinions. I shall only refer to Lord Shaftesbury,[2] Hume,[3] Reid,[4] and Stewart.[5]

But Loeke advanced a step still nearer to phrenology, when he maintained that *the organs of thinking* might be *material*.[6] Hartley's whole system is founded on the hypothesis that they are material.[7] So also is Tucker's.[8] Hume, the most refined and sceptieal of philosophers, seems most forcibly impressed with this

[1] Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, 21st edition, I. 13, 35. II. 325, 331.

[2] Shaftesbury's Characteristics, I. 184, 353.

[3] Hume's Essays, 1809, II. 12, 48, 287, 361, 366, 374.

[4] Reid's Essays, 1808, II. 77. III. 56, 68, 121, 124, 160, 166, 258, 216, 266.

[5] Stewart's Elements. 4th ed. I. 24, 25.

[6] Locke, I. 86, 131, 133. II. note pp. 83, 88, 97. 285.

[7] Hartley on Man, 1791, I. 72.

[8] Tucker's Light of Nature, I. 13, 14, 21, 23, 89, 178, 206, 212. II. 7. III. 112, 376, IV. 19. VII. 234.

opinion;[1] and Priestly[2] and Reid,[3] though antagonists on other points, seem equally inclined to favour this.

The *abuse* of our natural faculties is adverted to by Tucker, as if he were a phrenologist:[4] and the power of *natural language* is discussed in the same spirit by Reid in more passages than one.[5]

But to make still nearer approaches, *the faculties* of upwards of twenty of *the organs*, discovered in nature by Gall and Spurzheim, have been described as innate powers of the mind by various eminent metaphysicians, whose disciples, at the present day, perhaps disdain to adopt a system that their masters would, with few exceptions, from Locke to Reid inclusive, have hailed with joy, had they lived to see the day of Gall and Spurzheim.

Conscientiousness has had the greatest number of supporters, under the name of the moral sense, moral feeling, conscience, sense of right, &c. I shall only refer to Bishop Warburton,[6] Hume,[7] Marmontel,[8] Rousseau,[9] Tucker,[10] Dr. Hutcheson of Glasgow,[11]

[1] Hume, II. 72.
[2] Priestly on Spirit and Matter, I. 46, 47, 118, 120.
[3] Reid, I. 367.
[4] Tucker, II. 391.
[5] Reid, II. 262. III. 190, 449.
[6] Divine Legation of Moses, I. 233, 257.
[7] Hume's Essays, II. 219, 248, 263, 339, 340, 341, 343, 346.
[8] Œuvres de Marmontel, III. 224.
[9] Les Confessions de Rousseau, Paris, 1822, IV. 189.
[10] Tucker, II. 257, 266, 337.
[11] Reid's Essays, I. 347.

Reid,[1] Dr. Gregory,[2] Dugald Stewart,[3] Dr. Thomas Brown,[4] the author of "Clio, a discourse on taste," [5] and, what will scarcely be credited, the Edinburgh Reviewers themselves.[6]

Veneration, reverence, adoration, religious feeling, or by whatsoever other name it may be distinguished, has had many eminent supporters. Among the foremost is the renowned Columbus, who, though not a professed metaphysician, was yet one of the most profound of thinkers, and amongst the most astute and sagacious of the observers of nature.[7] Montesquieu[8] also believed in the inmateness of this sentiment, as did Warburton,[9] Hume,[10] Tucker,[11] the author of Clio,[12] Gregory,[13] Kant,[14] and Davy.[15]

1 Reid's Essays, II. 21, 60, 350, 353, 354, 355, 440. III. 2 154, 228, 229, 236, 240, 255, 376, 412, 414, 425, 443, 477.

2 Dr. Gregory's Comparative View, 202.

3 Stewart's Elements, 4th ed. I. 367.

4 Brown's Philosophy of the Human Mind, Edinburgh, 1828, 396, 397, 398, 400, 506, 536, 550.

5 Clio, 110, 113, 121.

6 Edinburgh Review, March to June, 1829, 295.

7 Washington Irving's Life of Columbus, I. 291.

8 Warburton's Divine Legation, III. 356.

9 Id. I. 314. III. 309, 311.

10 Hume's Essays, II. 466.

11 Tucker, VII. 276, 522.

12 Clio, 110, 113, 117.

13 Gregory's Comparative View, 197.

14 Aikin's Biography, Life of Kant.

15 Davy's Last Days of a Philosopher, 10.

The innateness of PHILOPROGENITIVENESS is *not* without its advocates :—I may name Warburton,[1] Hume,[2] Tucker,[3] Reid,[4] the author of 'A Theory of Agreeable Sensations,'[5] and lastly, Dr. Thomas Browne;[6] *nor* MARVELLOUSNESS, which is supported by Lord Shaftesbury,[7] in discoursing on the opinion of Lucretius upon this subject, Tucker,[8] Reid,[9] Frederick Schlegel,[10] and Browne.[11] BENEVOLENCE is advocated by Hume,[12] Reid,[13] and Browne.[14] CAUTIOUSNESS, or prudence, by Tucker[15] and Browne.[16]

SELF-ESTEEM is maintained by Reid,[17] Madame de Staël,[18] and Browne.[19] LOVE OF APPROBATION by

1 Warburton, I. 259.
2 Hume's Essays, II. 198, 354.
3 Tucker, IV. 194.
4 Reid, I. 56. III. 151.
5 Theory of Agreeable Sensations, 109.
6 Brown, 401, 442.
7 Shaftesbury's Characteristics, I. 49.
8 Tucker, V. 498.
9 Reid, III. 115, 315.
10 Schlegel's History of Literature, I. 135.
11 Browne's Philosophy, 379.
12 Hume's Essays, II. 322, 354, 492.
13 Reid, III. 88, 148.
14 Brown, 399, 403, 479, 480.
15 Tucker, II. 297. VII. 521.
16 Browne, 419.
17 Reid, III. 243.
18 Madame de Staël on the Influence of the Passions, 1813, 191, 252.
19 Browne, 398, 412, 416.

Hume,[1] de Staël,[2] Browne,[3] and the author of the theory above adverted to.[4] Hope by the author of Clio.[5] Ideality by Dugald Stewart[6] and Browne.[7]—Imitation by Reid[8] and Browne.[9] Space,[10] Time,[11] and Tune,[12] Individuality,[13] and Causality,[14] by Reid; and Comparison by Locke.[15]

Adhesiveness is supported by Warburton[16] and Browne;[17] Amativeness by Browne;[18] Combativeness by Hume[19] and Browne;[20] Destructiveness by the author of 'Theory of Agreeable Sensations,'[21] by de Staël,[22]

1 Hume's Essays, II. 327, 361.
2 De Staël, 191.
3 Browne, 412, 455, 507.
4 Theory of Agreeable Sensations, 90, 92, 183.
5 Clio, 128, 130.
6 Stewart's Elements, I. 530.
7 Browne, 350, 377, 403.
8 Reid, II. 68. III. 111.
9 Browne, 350.
10 Reid, I. 354.
11 Id. id.
12 Id. II. 392.
13 Id. I. 331. II. 256, 396.
14 Id. II. 295. III. 17, 41, 273, 277.
15 Locke, II. 178, 244.
16 Warburton, I. 320.
17 Browne, 402, 450.
18 Id. 403.
19 Hume's Essays, II. 309.
20 Browne, 400, 419, 420.
21 Theory, &c. 49, 88.
22 De Staël, 193.

and Browne;[1] FIRMNESS by Tucker,[2] and ACQUISITIVENESS by Reid.[3]

Browne *absolutely* admits a faculty of equilibrium, [4] which is identical with the phrenological faculty of weight; and if his principle of *relative suggestion* be not a component part of the mind, then to account for other phenomena which he discusses, the innate existence must be inferred of individuality,[5] eventuality,[6] comparison,[7] causality,[8] number,[9] size,[10] form,[11] colour,[12] and space,[13] in addition to those faculties which he admits without reserve.

It is not, however, to be forgotten, that Dr. Browne was well acquainted, even in the early part of his professorship, with the doctrines of Gall and Spurzheim; and that the first critique in the Edinburgh Review (vol. ii. p. 147) upon those doctrines, in 1803, is known to be from his pen. It may therefore be presumed, that he derived from phrenology some little assistance

1 Browne, 399, 400, 480, 481.
2 Tucker, II. 304.
3 Reid, III. 431, 439.
4 Browne, 433.
5 Id. 289.
6 Id. id.
7 Id. 290, 292.
8 Id. 289, 329.
9 Id. 334.
10 Id. 178.
11 Id. id.
12 Id. id.
13 Id. 290.

in forming his own system of mental philosophy, consisting, as it does, of at least four-and-twenty of the faculties of the very system he rejected. If the rejection was ungrateful, he at least made an *amende honorable* by so liberal an adoption.

So much, then, for the coincidences of phrenology with the other systems of the philosophy of mind.—Let us now compare their respective merits and defects, and ascertain whether the deficiencies of the old school have been supplied by the new.

Strange questions have arisen among many metaphysicians with respect to the difference between the mind of man and of other animals—the origin of society, language, and property—the nature of the moral sense—and the cause of genius and idiocy, insanity, dreaming, and sleep. Curious questions, and elaborately discussed; but never decided until PHRENOLOGY, supported by NATURE and TRUTH, came forth and gave judgment.

"Man," say metaphysicians, "is guided by his reason, and brutes by their instincts. From phrenology we may learn that brutes also reason; and that man is not without his instincts. Even the impulse to analyze and abstract, or to trace the clue between cause and effect, as far as it is an *impulse*, is but an INSTINCT. The *process* by which these mental operations are performed, is more than instinct—it is REASONING; nor is the imagination that assists in the process, by forming

new combinations, nor the judgment that selects the means, and awards the result, nor the memory that registers all, to be called an instinct; but the *propensity* to this exercise of the mind, though the highest enjoyed by man, *is but an* INSTINCT. The *propensity* to construct his hut is an INSTINCT in the beaver; but who will say that his mental exertions in chusing his materials, in shaping them, in placing them, in obviating accidents, and completing his edifice, are not REASONING?

The true difference between man and the inferior animals rests specifically in the greater number and superior nature of the faculties he enjoys. They have many organs in common; those which he possesses and of which they are destitute, constitute the obvious and immutable distinction between them.

All the organs displayed at the side of the human head seem connected with the subsistence and preservation of the individual, and are common also to brutes. ALIMENTIVENESS, the last which was admitted, incites to nourishment, and dictates the choice of food, apparently is the primary propensity of the group: the next is SECRETIVENESS, or cunning, that lies in wait for the prey, and eludes the pursuer—then DESTRUCTIVENESS, that slaughters the victim, and takes pleasure in carnage—CAUTIOUSNESS, that holds back both depredator and victim from a more powerful antagonist—and ACQUISITIVENESS, that seeks until it obtains, and then hoards the spoil for use.

Those at the back of the head are all requisite to the perpetuation of the species, and the formation or advancement of society; and are also appropriate to brutes as well as man. The FIRST is that propensity which reiterates the behest of the Deity, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." The SECOND is intended to cherish the early and tender production; and insure its preservation by an irresistible impulse, THE LOVE OF OFFSPRING. The THIRD knits affection and attachment between individuals—husband and wife, brother and sister, friend and friend. Without this instrument of Providence, there would be polygamy, but no marriage; there would be children, but no family. The FOURTH, whether called INHABITIVENESS with Spurzheim, or CONCENTRATIVENESS with Combe,* appears *in its primitive power* to be intended to concentrate all these faculties, to bind family and family together, and form of a great portion of the various dwellers upon earth, flocks and herds, communities and nations.

* Perhaps the best name for this organ as best indicating its primitive power, would be "the social affection," "the love of society," or "the propensity to associate." It is remarkable that Gall confounded this organ with self-esteem in animals that were destitute of the latter faculty. In man, self-esteem is the highest organ of the posterior part of the head; and in quadrupeds that have it not, the organ in question necessarily assumes its place. The chamois was the animal that occasioned Gall's erroneous conclusion that the love of physical elevation in these creatures is the same propensity as pride in man. But though the chamois be fond of physical height, he is also attached to

The FIFTH is COMBATIVENESS, so frequently employed in the cause of all those objects of love, mistress or wife, children or friends, party, sect, or country. The LOVE OF APPROBATION is the sixth. It wins its way in private and in public, with the fluctuating populace, or society at large, by endeavouring to please, by courting applause, by deserving, or appearing to deserve the public favour. In little minds and on a narrow scene, it is Vanity—in great minds and on a mighty theatre it is Ambition. How dull and lethean the soul of nations, if not put into motion by these spirit-stirring actors!

The SEVENTH and last is SELF-ESTEEM. It does not win, but subdue society. It arrogates, it monopolizes, it becomes despotic; but these are abuses of its power. It was intended to exalt the consciousness of virtue, and render more dignified the assertion of those exalted talents, extraordinary acquirements, and beneficent projects, by which the happiness of a people may be established. In an humbler arena this abuse of the feeling is Pride or Arrogance The feeling itself has been observed among other species inferior to man—so also has the Love of approbation. These more abject

society, and, wild as he is, he chuses to live in flocks. The latter propensity and not the former is obviously the power of this organ.

Spurzheim observes, that "it is larger in Negroes and in the Celtic tribes than in the Teutonic races: in the French, for instance, it is larger than in the Germans." Let others decide whether this distinction confirms, or not, the social character of this organ.

societies are not, perhaps, exempt, any more than mankind from the scourge of their abuses.

In these two regions of the head the organs of man and those of other animals, whose nature most approximates to his, afford but little room for drawing a line of distinction between him and them. Not so in the region of the forehead and its confines. It is true they enjoy nearly as many of those intellectual powers as man; but few in the same perfection. In the external senses, alone, some few of them excel him. In those which give a cognizance of existing things and their relations to each other, which facilitate a communication between mind and mind, or which prompt to the exertion of skill and intelligence, for the acquisition of comforts or enjoyments, he is, beyond all comparison, their superior. INDIVIDUALITY and its adjunct SPACE, which in them but confirms the evidence of the senses as to the existence of external things, and confers on some few of them the capability of a narrow education, yields him that insatiable curiosity, that restless thirst of universal knowledge, which exhausts the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, imbibes all the information this diversified globe can supply, and impels him to scale the heavens, and take note of all the wonders of the starry Infinite.

EVENTUALITY, with its adjunct TIME, which in them embraces only the present moment, or the present scene, or perhaps looks back for a day or possibly a year, and scarcely looks forward at all—in him com-

prehends the history of his species in every portion of the earth, the revolutions of that earth itself, before history had a name; and anticipates, not only the changes of futurity, but ventures to penetrate, with hope, even the secrets of eternity.

The organ of FORM, and its adjuncts, SIZE and WEIGHT, the organs of COLOUR and CONSTRUCTIVENESS enable them to distinguish individuals, and know familiar objects from strange—to preserve their own equilibrium—to take pleasure in each other's striped and spotted skins or splendid plumage—to dig a borough, build a nest, or erect a hut; but in him these powers stimulate to new creations: the impulse of the *first*, aided no doubt by still superior faculties, shapes the marble into beauty, and almost inspires it with life; the *second* flashes the colours over the canvass, and brings back to our admiring eyes, in all their living energy, from times long past, deeds of heroic adventure, or the hallowed displays of Divine Benevolence; while the *third* elevates the palace in all its architectural splendour, or dedicates a temple, crowned with magnificence, to Him whom "the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain."

TUNE, in the inferior animals, is confined to the song of birds. In man it extends, in variety, from the wild melodies of the Indian to the mirthful or pathetic airs of the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, the exquisite science of German and Italian sonatas, the fascinating operas of Mozart and Rossini, and all the omnipotence of harmony in the divine oratorios of Haydn and Handel.

Still more confined are the powers of the faculty of LANGUAGE in brutes. They, however, utter sounds which each individual of the species understands.—They also employ all the gestures of natural language, and even comprehend the few familiar words with which they are habitually addressed. It is not, therefore, irrational to ascribe to them this organ; particularly as Spurzheim found that such individuals among the deaf and dumb of the human species, as possessed a large development of this organ, understood the meaning of natural language, and conversed by the use of signs, much better than those of a smaller development. From this humble basis, to all the uses and powers of articulate sounds and artificial language, how exalted is the ascent! how immense the efficacy and enjoyment possessed by man!—the intercommunion of minds in social or scientific converse—the force and perspicacity of argument, advanced to such a degree by general terms and intellectual abstractions—the strains of Poetry, inculcating piety, magnanimity, and virtue—and the thunders of Eloquence, commanding the destinies of nations, and involving in its splendid career the interests both of Time and Eternity!

In the forehead is no other organ common to man and his fellow-animals. He differs from them altogether, in having an organ of CALCULATION, by which he can number the stars, and with all the instruments afforded by the higher mathematics, can weigh and measure the planets, assign their courses and times, mark

out the path and anticipate the coming of comets, calculate the distance of the most distant nebula, and only terminate his investigations in the inaccessible depths of Infinitude.

The organ of ORDER is *peculiar* to him, by which he arranges every object within his cognizance, whether material or mental. But, above all, peculiar is that semi-circle of exalted faculties, that adorns his brow like a diadem. The centre of the brilliant assemblage is COMPARISON, by which he perceives resemblances and differences, abstracts and generalizes, analyzes and combines, adapts and illustrates. Next is placed CAUSALITY, by which he "ascends from nature up to nature's God," and, in proportion as he enlarges his views of the universe, expands his swelling mind to comprehend the immensity of its Creator.—What a universe!—when we look up to the stars, and think that every star is a sun, surrounded by worlds! What a universe!—when we look to the milky-way, and are satisfied that its amazing extent is a congeries of similar suns. What a universe!—when we descry nebula rising after nebula in our telescopes, and are convinced that each is a milky-way like the first—another universe of suns! The universe, then, is no longer a universe, but a myriad of universes. What Omnipotence! what infinite Omnipotence! This, then, is the organ by which we "ascend from nature up to nature's God,"—this the instrument with which he has furnished us, *to know him as he is.*

The next organ, MIRTHFULNESS, is not of such profound importance. But if it does not prompt to knowledge, it at least diffuses happiness. Laughter and smiles are peculiar to man;

> ———— "For smiles from reason flow,
> To brute denied."

And this faculty seems peculiarly connected with this felicitous privilege. It throws a cheerfulness over every scene of nature and creation of art. It burlesques poetry with Butler, painting with Hogarth, and statuary with Thom; it enlivens society with its flashes of merriment, and makes glad the heart of man; it assures him that he was not intended by his Maker for a gloomy, austere, lumpish, frowning bigot, but a glad and grateful participator in all the innocent enjoyments so profusely and beneficently showered in his path.

The last in this splendid arrangement is IDEALITY, the vivifying soul of music, poetry, and eloquence—the more than earthly expression of painting and sculpture, the pure and fascinating grace of architecture, and every other elegant art. It refines, exalts, and dignifies every object susceptible of improvement; it pants after perfection, and is restless until it is attained; it ameliorates the manners, and elevates the tone of society; and would change even the face of nature with Elysian embellishment. Of those largely endowed with this faculty, it may be said, that the world is not their world; they create a world for themselves;

and if realities often disappoint and disgust them, realities also bring more enjoyment to them than to others; for they paint them with hues of their own, and fling their internal radiance over every object of their senses, their thoughts, and their passions.

So much for the organs of the sides, the back, and the front of the head. Those of the crown are almost exclusively peculiar to man, and are connected with his noblest feelings, most imperative duties, and most exalted expectations. The only exceptions are BENEVOLENCE and IMITATION. The first, as far as other animals can possess it, is merely a mildness and amenity of disposition, and cannot exalt itself, as in him, to the comprehensive sentiments of generosity, philanthropy, and charity, embracing in their kindness not only friends and countrymen, but mankind—not only mankind, but all living creatures. The *second* closely borders on the first, as if to catch a portion of its spirit, and convey the precept to all, "Go, and do likewise." It is as important in its utility, as its high situation among the organs would indicate. It is generally larger in infancy than in manhood; and its influence in learning languages, imbibing opinions, and acquiring perfection in the arts, affords a triumphant contrast to the uses made of the same organ by the monkey, the ape, the parrot, and the mocking-bird.

Here end the pretensions of other animals to cope with man. The organ which has received the name

of MARVELLOUSNESS, but whose primitive power seems to be as yet unknown, is altogether foreign to their necessities and nature. If Ideality be the sense of Beauty, this may be the sense of the Sublime; and those profound and energetic feelings with which we trespass on the solemn silence of a gloomy cathedral, with which we penetrate the dark solitude of a forest, with which we find ourselves alone in a mountainous desert, ridge behind ridge, peak behind peak, like billows of an ocean, delight while they oppress us; and we enthusiastically cherish in recollection, or seek in reality to renew these mysterious and almost visionary enjoyments—this religious and almost supernatural awe.

The organ of HOPE presents a species of anomaly. To hope for fame, wealth, or any kind of pleasure, appears to be an affection of the organs appropriated to the love of approbation, acquisitiveness, and other propensities; they all, if excited, desire *their peculiar object;* if under circumstances where they are likely to obtain it, they hope, or they expect, in proportion as the probability of enjoyment is smaller or greater. Analogy, therefore, suggests the inference, that the organ in question has, like the other organs, an object of its own; and why may not that object be a future existence. In every region, civilized or savage, the desire to outlive this transitory life is indulged by all men with anxious hope or certain expectation, according to the degree of their confidence in the pro-

miscs of Revelation—or where the light of Revelation has not penctrated, in the spontancous longings of this very organ. If this view be accurate, this faculty is still morc remotc than the prceeding from any nature inferior to man's. Nor is this explanation inconsistcnt with the widest scope of this affection; for it is not to be forgotten that nations have invented almost as many elysiums and paradises as gods and demigods: yet it is manifest that the organs of Hope and Veneration are of little comparative importance, except so far as they regard the just expectation of a future state, and the pure homage of the Creator. But, supposing that these organs were primarily designed for those specific objects, it appears necessary, from analogy, that their respective powers should be unrestricted; and that Hopc should embrace every kind of hope, worldly and unworldly—and Vcneration every kind of veneration, human and divinc.

Far removed from the participation of other animals, is also CONSCIENTIOUSNESS. This potent monitor impels us to our duties in spitc of every scduction of those feelings, which we inherit in common with the brutes. It is supported by the organ of FIRMNESS, as if it was intended that they should unite to proclaim, in the most pithy and intelligible language, that grand moral maxim, "BE JUST *and* FEAR NOT."

Lastly, in the centre of the crown is VENERATION, that irrestisiblc power which propels man to the worship of God, or in derogation of the omnipotent, omnisci-

ent, universal Father, whatever being, he chuses in his folly, to call God—to seat beside him on his throne—or even substitute in his place. The highest prerogative of rational beings is to KNOW the only true God, and kindle to him, in this organ, the incense of their adoration. They have two roads by which to obtain this *knowledge*—the study of Scripture, and the study of the Universe. In both these records it will be found that the God of Revelation and Nature is one God, and that there is none other but HE. Until this truth be acknowledged, the blind energy of this organ but ignorantly worships THE UNKNOWN GOD.

Such are the numerous and manifest distinctions, established by phrenology, between man and inferior creatures; and, unlike the deductions of the old philosophy, are corroborated and confirmed in every instance by nature. Nor are the mental differences between the different species of animals less striking. The nearer their nature approximates to his, the more propensities and powers they enjoy; they stand lower in the scale as the number and importance of their organs are reduced. Few animals possess Self-esteem, or the Love of approbation, which appear to be restricted to a small number of the social tribes. These also possess Benevolence, but are destitute of Destructiveness;—the solitary savage tribes possess Destructiveness, but are destitute of Benevolence. This observation applies to birds as well as quadrupeds. Constructiveness is rare

among quadrupeds, but common among birds. Acquisitiveness is rare or common, in these different classes, nearly in the same proportion. Secretiveness and Cautiousness are frequent appendages of timid and solitary creatures. Cautiousness is never absent from the circumspect and watchful, which herd together in wilds and mountains. The cerebellum is never absent in quadrupeds—in birds it is transversely furrowed, but not divided into two lobes. Indeed, in all oviparous creatures it seems to be reduced to the vermiform process. Granivorous birds seem, however, to possess much the same organization as herbivorous quadrupeds, and the carnivorous have many points of resemblance with carnivorous quadrupeds. The most common propensity among birds is Philoprogenitiveness; Attachment is very general. Tune is enjoyed by many species, and Locality must be the propelling faculty in every tribe that migrates.

This faculty is manifested also in many families of fishes—but Destructiveness seems to be their prevalent organ. In the shark it must occupy almost the whole mass of the cerebrum. In this class the cerebellum is large in proportion to the cerebrum, and in some instances exceeds it in size. Their history would indicate that they have little or no Philoprogenitiveness. It is said they enjoy all the senses but taste. The brain of reptiles, like that of fishes, occupies but a small part of the cranium. In a crocodile of fourteen feet length, the cavity will hardly admit

the thumb. Like the shark's, this brain must be little more than an organ of destructiveness. The same observation applies to the several tribes of serpents, particularly the poisonous. All reptiles swallow entire animals, and do not masticate their food. They exhibit great voracity, but also a wonderful power of abstinence.

Lower than the reptiles, in fact in the lowest class, the *molluscæ*, creatures are to be found with brains. The most horrible of the productions of nature, is perhaps, the *octopus* of the Indian seas. The eight arms of this monster are said to be nine fathoms in length; and the Indian boatmen are for ever in terror of being entangled in their grasp, and conveyed into a stomach of proportionate dimensions and voracity. Other species of the cuttle-fish are represented as defending their females, and escaping from danger by discharging an inky liquid, which discolours the sea, and baffles the pursuit of their enemy. But no victim can elude the vigilance of their huge glaring eyes, or the tenacity of their widely extended holders, armed with suckers like mouths.

All these classes possess a brain, and (with the exception of the monsters just alluded to) a spinal cord, and a system of nerves. Where there is a head, there is no difficulty in supposing a mind;* and we can rea-

* It is necessary to observe, that MIND here, does not mean *soul*; a confusion of terms not confined to the ignorant, but employed even by philosophers. The subject has been largely dis-

dily measure the extent of that mind, by the knowledge we have of the propensities and powers of which it is compounded, and such perception, memory, judgment, and imagination, as may reasonably be conceived as the concomitants of these propensities and powers. But where there is no head, or such a diminutive one as can scarcely form a receptacle for a brain, we are lost in perplexity. The bee, the ant, and various other insects, evince great mental powers; but whether they reside in their diminutive heads, or in the nervous filaments, that the microscope has detected in in their bodies, must long remain a mystery. Their constructiveness, acquisitiveness, locality, and combativeness, are well worthy to be lodged in a brain: but if they are confined to microscopic threads, then these threads may well be considered analogous to the ultimate fibres of the cerebral organs, endowed with similar powers.

Worms have no distinguishable head; and whatever mind they enjoy must emanate from the great sympathetic nerve, which, with its adjuncts, occupies their interior, But various other animals are even destitute

cussed in "An Essay on such Physical Considerations as are connected with Man's ultimate destination, the essential constitution of Superior Beings, and the presumptive unity of Nature." But the views insisted on, in that Essay, have no necessary connexion with phrenology, except so far as one series of truths may be connected with another. A phrenologist may be a very good phrenologist, whether he adopts or rejects the views of the author.

of a nerve; and whatever nervous matter enters into their composition, is diffused through their flesh, undistinguishable from the rest of the mass. Oysters and other bivalves open and close their shells, and fatten on whatever meagre nourishment salt water can supply.

Actineæ, which seem to grow like flowers on the rocks, and so closely resemble the anemony, the carnation, and the sun-flower, that they are distinguished by these names, can walk upon their tentacula, and, for this purpose, invert themselves, and their bases become uppermost. They live in holes in the rocks; and, putting the water in motion with their arms, thus bring their distant prey within reach.—They swallow muscles, and reject the entire shells, after extracting the fish. The *magnifica* is cautious and circumspect; and on the approach of danger withdraws its tentacula into its elastic tube; and then this tube into its den in the rock. The *medusa* and *star-fish* can sink and rise, and direct their movements at pleasure. They have no nerves or circulation; but their arms are excellent organs of touch. If any of these sea-flowers, medusæ, and star-fish, be cut into pieces, each piece becomes as perfect an animal as its original. The polypus possesses an equal facility of reproduction. It is a mere stomach, and can have no other desire or gratification but such as may be supposed to actuate a stomach not accustomed to much variety. The sponge is a congeries of reticulated fibres, clothed with gelatinous flesh, full of small

mouths, by which it absorbs and rejects water, and acquires all necessary nourishment. Its pores alternately contract and dilate, and it shrinks from the touch when examined in its native situation. It scarcely seems to possess the organization worthy to raise it to the dignity of a plant; yet it gives unequivocal proof of animal life, and arrogates a right to be admitted into a superior kingdom.

Can such creatures have mental powers?—can Molluscæ have minds? I doubt whether this question must not be answered in the affirmative. Even the very Sense of existence is a Mind to the animal that yet possesses no other feeling. If the Sponge be a living animal, and possess that feeling, to that extent it must have a Mind. But the other species of Molluscæ I have named, enjoy superior powers. They have, all, the powers of voluntary motion, and some of them of locomotion. They have, all, the desire of food; but, perhaps, none of them a choice, even restricted, of the victims they swallow. They have, all, offspring; but whether they experience any indistinct and feeble type of the feeling, which, in superior animals, resides in the cerebellum—whether they know that they have young, or care whether they have or not, it were vain to conjecture. But thus far we may assume—that whatever pleasure they may feel in swallowing their prey—whatever enjoyment in their voluntary movements—whatever pain when they shrink from danger—whatever desire of food or other gratification within

their narrow sphere—even the very sense of existence itself—all these feelings, as far as they exist in the animal, combine to constitute its Mind—and a Mind it has, if it be a living Creature.*

What difference then, it will be asked, between the Mind emanating from the unorganized nervous mass of these Molluscæ, and the highly organized cerebral system of more perfect animals? The question is startling, and deserves an answer: but it is not easy, in the present state of our knowledge, to attain satisfaction, much less conviction. It is, however, to be observed, that these creatures can neither see, nor hear, nor smell, nor taste, and seem to be only sensible of present feelings and desires; probably they have no memory, no anticipation, no choice, no inventive resources to gratify any of their wants—and these are the common attributes of every brain and its congeries of organs, every organ being imbued with its own propensity, perception, memory, judgment, and imagination.

I have dwelt thus long on the first of these important questions, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAN AND THE INFERIOR ANIMALS, because these minute details will render more easy and perspicuous the discussion of the other subjects on which Phrenology appears to have thrown more light than all the labours of metaphysics in all past ages. With respect to the next question, THE ORIGIN OF SOCIETY, we have even anticipated the

* See Note, p. p. 73, 74.

solution, in discussing the nature and connexion of the organs developed at the back of the head.

It is admitted that mankind, at the earliest periods, were united in society; yet various theories have been formed concerning the circumstances and principles which gave rise to this union. These theories suppose the original state of man to be that of savages, without language, intellect, or moral restraint, the "*mutum et turpe pecus*" which the Roman Satirist describes with more of poetical beauty than philosophical truth. Such suppositions are contradicted by the most authentic records of antiquity; and the Mosaic account of the exalted endowments bestowed upon man — even if it had no higher pretension, carries conviction to the mind, from its consonance with nature and reason.— Children increased, families multiplied, and communities were established; and it could not have been otherwise, from the organization of the mental faculties bestowed by God upon Man. If he had been denied the organ of Attachment, husband and wife would have separated with as little ceremony, and lived as much asunder as the tiger and tigress; if denied Philoprogenitiveness, he would have shaken off his offspring as if they were leopard's cubs, or, like the ostrich, abandoned them altogether; if denied Concentrativeness, family would have fought with family, instead of uniting into communities, and battling with other communities in defence of their women, their children and their portion of the soil. Without Com-

bativeness, they would not have battled at all; but suffered the beasts to make war on them, and yielded in weakness and despair their lives to the victors; without Self-esteem and the Love of Approbation, there would have been no government of the eommunity, no desire nor ambition to beeome its leader or head—no struggle for power—no monarehy, no oligarehy, no republie. Would soeiety be better if it were otherwise? We may venture to deeide that it would not. It is according to the mental powers given us by God; and what He wills must, on the whole, be best.

It is the same in the humbler communities of animals—the dove-eot, the rookery, the domestie floeks and herds, the wild floeks and herds, those whieh unite for migration, those whieh unite for the ehase, those whieh plaee sentinels, and seek their safety in flight or resistanee, all are alike governed by their organization; and where the organization differs, there is also a differenee in the eonstitution of the soeiety. Are they gregarious beeause they considered effeets and eauses, and saw that their seeurity and happiness depended on a union of strength or of intelleet? No! they are gregarious, beeause they feel the irresistible impulse of their organization.—This is the prime and proximate ease of SOCIETY.

Philosophers have differed mueh as to THE ORIGIN OF ARTICULATE LANGUAGE; and some eannot eoneeive how man could have arrived at so exquisite a power without the intervention of the Deity; and therefore con-

clude that this divine gift was bestowed by inspiration on our first parents.

I admit that the gift is divine, and that God is the the giver, as he is the giver of all good things; but the inspiration was indirect, not immediate; the inspiration resides in the organ of Language, and that organ is the gift of God. Were a family of men to be created by miracle in a wilderness, they would, if similarly endowed with us, feel the impulse of this organ, and soon learn, in the first instance, to comprehend each other's gestures and cries, and other signs of their natural language, and ascend by these means to the exalted acquisition of an artificial language, by giving, step after step, conventional names to objects and actions, emotions and passions, generalizations and abstractions.

If this impulse and ability were not in man, there never could have been more than one language on the face of the earth; that with which God inspired Adam, and with which Adam instructed his children and descendants.

The right of property has been assigned by moral philosophers to a similar origin. "It is the *intention of God*," says Paley, "that the produce of the earth be applied to the use of man; this intention cannot be fulfilled without establishing property; it is consistent, therefore, with *his will*, that property be established. The land cannot be divided into separate property without leaving it to the law of the country to regu-

late that division: it is consistent, therefore, with *the same will*, that the law should regulate the division; and consequently consistent with *the will of God*, or *right*, that I should possess that share which these regulations assign me. By whatever circuitous train of reasoning you attempt to derive this right, it must terminate at last in *the will of God;* the straightest, therefore, and shortest way of arriving at THIS WILL is the best."*

That is simply by expressing it; for Paley did not know that there was a still more satisfactory mode, by pointing out the organ of ACQUISITIVENESS in the human head, and the heads of such animals as collect and store their food. This organ declares the will of God with the voice of a commandment, and gives us an indisputable right to all the property we can acquire by the sweat of our brow, whether the exsudation be the consequence of bodily or mental labour. No individual, nor even the community itself, can justly despoil us of the smallest portion of it, without our own consent expressedly or impliedly given, so long as we respect the same right in others, and conform ourselves to the dictates of another organ, conferred upon us for the very purpose—the organ of CONSCIENTIOUSNESS.

Adam Smith was ignorant of the existence of this organ; and therefore to explain the nature of a CON-

* Paley's "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy"—20th edition: I. 119.

SCIENCE in man, invented his beautiful Theory of the Moral Sentiments. In this discussion he announces a universal sympathy, according to whose laws we cannot witness the infliction of injustice, oppression, or cruelty, without feeling with the injured and oppressed, as if we were ourselves the sufferers, and participating their indignation against the offender. And even when we ourselves are hurried into a similar violation of justice, this equitable and undiscriminating law compels us to sympathise with the very victims of our crime, compels us to judge ourselves, and fills our bosom with the same indignation that irritates the spectator and the sufferer against us. Nor does he confine this sympathy to the mind. He makes, of the body, one general organ for its reception, observing that we cannot witness any species of torture inflicted, without writhing in the very limb which we see racked in another.

This theory of the Moral Sense, however plausible, is in fact unfounded. It is not indignation, anger, or aversion, which we feel at our own neglects or breaches of the moral law. No! These are the feelings of the spectator and sufferer. What we feel is *regret* at trivial or unintentional offences, and all the pangs of *remorse* at wilful and premeditated crimes and cruelties.

Conscientiousness, like every other organ, is pleased in being exercised; and its natural exercise is in performing just, and resisting the tendency to iniquitous actions, fulfilling duties, and overcoming the indolence

that would influence us to neglect them. But the want of this pleasure is positive pain; and in proportion as the faculty is stronger, the pain must be greater. Every neglect of duty, every repetition of vice, must excite a qualm of conscience—a *craving* after self-approbation; for, like every other propensity, this must have a desire for its natural pabulum, and the painful sense of a vacuum, while that desire is at once active and ungratified. The remorse which we experience has nothing in common with anger, aversion, or indignation, but is rather a yearning after the self-approval which we want—an appetite, like hunger, to fill up a painful void which torments us.

Another question which has divided philosophers is, "What is the cause of GENIUS in science and the arts?" The Abbè Dubos, who flourished upwards of a century since, maintained, almost in the language of a phrenologist of the present day, that it was "a happy arrangement of the organs of the brain, and a just conformation of each of these organs." He adds, rather theoretically, "as also in the quality of the blood which disposes it to ferment during exercise, so as to furnish plenty of spirits to the springs employed in the functions of the imagination."

A compilator who quotes Dubos, at the beginning of the present century, and discusses the subject a little more philosophically, defines GENIUS to be "a *natural talent or disposition* to do one thing more than another, or the aptitude a man has received from *na-*

ture to perform well and easily that which others can do but indifferently, and with a great deal of pains." "To know *the bent of nature*," he continues, "is of great importance. Men usually come into the world with *a genius* determined not only to *a certain art*, but to certain parts of that art, in which alone they are capable of success. If they quit their sphere, they fall even below mediocrity in their profession. Art and industry *add* much to *natural endowments*, but *cannot supply them* where they are wanting. Every thing depends on genius. A painter often pleases without observing rules, whilst another displeases, though he observes them, because he has not the happiness of being born with a genius for painting. A man born with a genius for commanding an army, and capable of becoming a great general by the help of experience, is one whose *organical conformation* is such, that his valour is no obstruction to his presence of mind, and his presence of mind causes no abatement of his valour."

Helvetius, however, was of a very different opinion. He decides that "it is emulation that produces Genius, and a desire of becoming illustrious that creates talents."* He even maintains that all men have an equal aptitude to understanding, and that this equal aptitude is a dead power in them when not vivified by the passions; but that the passion for Glory is that which most commonly sets them in action.†

* Treatise on Man, his Intellectual Faculties, and Education, I. 23.

† Id. I. 361.

Reid advances a still different doctrine. "In all invention," he says, "there must be some end in view; and sagacity in finding out the road that leads to this end is what we call invention. In this chiefly, and in clear and distinct conceptions, consists that superiority of understanding, which we call GENIUS."*

Thus, according to Helvetius, the poet, the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the musician, the mathematician, the naturalist, the metaphysician, and the commander of armies, who have risen to the highest eminence, each in a career so different, by the transcendent force of genius, all owe that genius in all these forms, to one single stimulant, the love of glory; and according to Reid, they owe, each his own peculiar genius, merely to a general superiority of understanding, which consists in the possession of clear and distinct conceptions, and sagacity in finding the right road to an object. Helvetius reduces every kind of genius to Love of Approbation; and Reid's hypothesis chiefly points to Individuality and Causality. But the phrenologist knows that, alone and unassisted, the love of approbation confers no genius except that which exhibits itself in vanity or ambition; and that the united powers of individuality and causality, uncombined with others, may possibly produce a profound genius in some branches of philosophy; but not

* Reid, II. 344.

another of that great variety by which the votaries of so many arts and sciences are distinguished.

But to use the language of phrenology may look like begging the question, and taking for granted what remains to be proved; let us then suppose that these two eminent philosophers considered a comprehensive and powerful understanding, apt, vivid, clear, perspicuous, and sagacious, as amply sufficient to account for every kind of genius, aided by such modifications as accident or education may occasion; but that Helvetius goes a little beyond Reid, by requiring as a stimulant the love of glory. Is it not obvious that an individual gifted with such an understanding ought to be, if not mathematician, painter, poet, musician, architect, and general, yet capable of becoming all or any of them, by the force of education; yet can it be thought that Jedediah Buxton, who was such a genius in calculation, could ever have become a genius in acting. To see Garrick in Richard was sufficient to have awakened his dormant powers of imitation, if capable of excitement; but what did this night's education do for him? Did he burn with the enthusiasm of an actor? Did he even melt with the sympathies of a man? Did he shed a single tear of pity or indignation? No! His "comprehensive and powerful understanding, apt, vivid, clear, perspicuous, and sagacious," stimulated, as it ought to have been, by the concentrated force of all his feelings and affections, only enabled him to count

the words of Garrick, and announce with accurate precision the number he had uttered.

No! He was but a genius in that one particular. Others have been geniuses in many particulars. Some few, like the admirable Crichton, Benvenuto Cellini, Michael Angelo, Julio Romano, and others have each of them almost merited to be styled, if not an universal genius, at least one of most versatile powers; and how, without the aid of phrenology, can these differences and disproportions be explained? The facility and perspicuity of the solution leave no room to doubt its truth.

Were an individual to possess, of supereminent dimensions, the several organs, and that all were active, energetic, and cultivated, such a man would be an universal genius; he could be any thing for which he chose, by practice, to educate his faculties. But if he were not so amply gifted, but failed in the perfect exuberance of one or two of those powers: for instance, if he were deficient in language and ideality, he could never be a poet—if deficient in form and size, he could never be a sculptor—if in form and colour, he could never be a painter—if in form and constructiveness, he could never be an architect—if in tune and time, he could never be a musician—if in calculation and space, he could never be a geometrician—if in comparison and causality, he could never be a philosopher—or if he were deficient in mirthfulness alone, he could never be a man of wit or humour. Not that

any of these can create a genius: comparison, causality, ideality, individuality, must all contribute their assistance. It is a happy combination of organs that makes the genius in whatever art; and if the predominant organ of that combination be tune, the individual may be a Handel—if ideality, a Milton—if colouring, a Raphael—if form, a Canóva—if constructiveness, an Angelo—if calculation, a Maclaurin—if causality, a Newton, a Herschel, a Lavoisier, a Spurzheim.

The grand opposite to Genius is IDIOCY; but it has even been admitted by proprietors of the most eminent genius, that this quality and insanity are nearly a-kin.

"Great wit to madness ever is allied."

But nothing can differ more from each other than the primary cause of idiocy and insanity; yet philosophers, to this day, are in the habit of ascribing both, to one and the same cause, *disease of the mind;* as if it were possible the mind could be diseased. The mind, like music, has nothing in common with matter, except that it is manifested by means of material instruments. Those instruments of mind, those material organs, may be disordered, unduly excited, inflamed—the mental faculties inherent in them become confused, incoherent, ungovernable; and this is insanity. Even a single organ may be more excited and inflamed than the others, so as no longer to submit to the influence of its

superiors, the intellectual and moral powers; and this is monomania. But every species of insanity, whether "demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy, or moon-struck madness," is altogether different from idiocy, except when it degenerates into that hopeless and abject condition; and that is when the substance of the brain has been disorganized by the disease. This, then, is one species of idiocy. Another is where the brain is deficient in size—where it is too diminutive to exercise the powers required of the human encephalon. A third and not uncommon species is where some of the reflecting and moral organs are absolutely wanting; a human being, thus imperfect, sinks, in his mental manifestations, to a level with the ouran-outang—perhaps below him. Spurzheim had an opportunity of dissecting and comparing together the brain of this animal and the brain of an idiot: that of the idiot was destitute of almost every organ by which man is distinguished from the brutes. He made accurate drawings of them, with an inspection of which he gratified many in this city. He also wrote a memoir on the subject, which was never published; and if not discovered among his papers, will be an incalculable loss to the scientific public. But if we must experience this regret, the Royal Society are principally to blame. It was read before that learned body, but they refused it a place in their Transactions. It is difficult to conjecture why they should reject a paper so valuable, and in the present state of science so calculated to

afford, on an important point, a clear insight into nature; and still more difficult to conceive why they should so unceremoniously wound the feelings of its highly gifted author. It was said, indeed, at the time, that the majority of the committee, who imposed this monstrous decision on their brethren, were struck with some awkward resemblance between their own cerebral masses and those under review. But whether this unhappy sensitiveness was occasioned by the brute or the fool, or by both, my profound respect for the members of that learned association forbids me to inquire.

It is rather whimsical, that an essay on the topics we are next to discuss was honoured with a similar rejection by the twin sister of the Royal Society—the Royal Irish Academy. But the paper alluded to was not, perhaps, of so much value; and certainly was not the offspring of a mind of such gigantic dimensions. It was, however, entitled, "An Essay on Dreaming, including conjectures on the proximate cause of Sleep." The majority of the Council of that learned body thought it savoured of materialism, to represent the brain as having any connexion with the mind—it being their opinion that this gift of God was a superfluity, and that the mind could exist, and perceive, and operate in the empty cavern of the skull, as well *without* as *with* this "most miraculous organ." The essay, however, was more fortunate than Spurzheim's, and is

in no danger of being lost; for the candid and liberal Association of Fellows and Licentiates of the College of Physicians eagerly published it in their Transactions.* Reviewers were lavish in their recommendations of its contents to psychologists and metaphysicians;† and Tilloch republished it in the Philosophical Magazine.‡ It is, therefore, unnecessary, and would be irksome, if not unsuitable, to repeat here what is there detailed of the failure of the most eminent philophers—of Locke, Hartley, Beattie, Darwin, and Stewart, in their attempts to explain the phenomenon of dreaming; or to insist over again, with requisite copiousness, on the satisfactory solution of Spurzheim. But even Spurzheim himself did not sufficiently elucidate the nature of sleep, where he says, "All organs, being fatigued, take rest; and this state of rest is sleep."§ We know that *that* is something more than rest which involves so intense and predominant a change, locks up the senses and the intellect, and induces an oblivion of all we knew—an annihilation, to the slumberer, of all that existed. Such a change can only be caused by some important vital process, so indispensable as to be of daily recurrence—and of such general influence as to engage every part of the frame, but particularly the organs of thinking, sensation, and

* Transactions of the College of Physicians, II. p. 48.

† London Medical Repository, No. 71—p. 406. London Medical and Physical Journal, No. 242—p. 322.

‡ Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine, LIV.—p. 252, 324.

§ Spurzheim's Phrenology, 1815, p. 216.

voluntary motion. Such a process is that which repairs the waste of the brain and nerves, and preserves their consistence and vigour—the process of assimilation. Powerful and overwhelming must be its effects on the delicate and fragile instruments of thought, feeling, and motion! and it would be irrational to suppose that a change which affects their very structure, by the deposit of new particles, must not be attended by a cessation of their functions—an actual, though a natural paralysis—THE PARALYSIS OF SLEEP.

The deposit of those particles, not yet employed in the functions of feeling or thinking, must have a similar effect as the imposition of an extraneous body on those tender and exquisite organs; and their paralyzing compression must continue, under the form of sleep, until the assimilation is complete, and that the new nervous particles are as fit as the old for the operations and uses for which they were designed by the Creator. The function then commences: internal organ after organ, nerve after nerve, enters into activity—the external senses resume their daily occupations—the mind is in communication with the external world—the recent slumberer is awake.

In the gradual progress from intense sleep, when there can be no dream, to the moment of perfect vigilance, see what occurs. The first cerebral organ that awakes enters on the train of thinking connected with its faculty: some kind of DREAM is the result—as organ after organ awakes, the dream becomes more vivid,

and as the number of active organs increases, so does the complication of dreams; and if all the internal organs are awake, the man is still asleep until his awaking senses bring him into direct communication with the world.

Until that event, the mind may *exert* its influence over the nervous system as powerfully as if the individual were awake. But this exertion will be fruitless as long as the process of assimilation is acting on the nerves. Under strong excitement we struggle to move our limbs, and cannot. Whatever other causes may supervene, if there were no other but this, we should labour under NIGHT-MARE—a sense of oppressive restraint attends our ineffectual efforts—we endeavour to shake it off, and, in the exertion, awake.

But it may happen that the mind, in commanding the nerves, may find them ready to obey—the process of assimilation may have ceased—they may be awake—the sleeper may put his limbs into motion—he may traverse the chambers of the house, or the streets of the city—walk on the battlements of a bridge—fling himself into a river, or accomplish any other frightful freak of SOMNAMBULISM. But happily this peculiar phenomenon is of rarer occurrence than, from the simplicity of its obvious cause, might reasonably be supposed.

In concluding this subject, let me observe that a REVERIE is but a waking dream, as a dream is but a sleeping reverie. In the one case, though the senses

are in full power to receive external impressions, the mind does not attend to them; and they are as effectually excluded as in the other case, where the senses are sealed up, and the world is shut out. In both, the current of our thoughts assumes the vividness of reality. The landscapes, the cities, the crowds, the individuals, the conversations, the tunes, which present themselves to our mind, are as much realities, for the moment, as if we saw and heard them, until the illusion is dissipated, in the one instance, by some strong external impression, which recals our senses to their duty; and in the other, by the departure of sleep from those senses, and the consequent renewal of our intercourse with the realities of the world.

If an hypothesis more naturally accounts for phenomena than its precursors—if it accounts for every phenomenon of which we desire an explanation—if it dovetails and cements with all our former knowledge on the subject—there is no reason why it should not be received, until another shall be produced more rational, satisfactory, and worthy of acceptance. This hypothesis of sleep I owe to phrenology—to phrenology, then, be all the credit. It occurred to me in preparing an answer to the cavils of the Quarterly Review. Many objections were advanced against it; but they were all fairly and unsophistically answered, without a single exception. It is unnecessary even to advert to them here:—

"There's nought so tedious as a twice-told tale."

Thus have I endeavoured to lay before you the many instances in which phrenology has thrown new light upon the science of mind; and how much it has radically changed, improved, and exalted this important, I might say, this momentous department of philosophy. What a debt of gratitude and admiration do we not owe to Gall, whose wonderful talent for observation, whose unwearied perseverance, whose powerful and original mode of conception, led to this grand result; and even from the very abuses, exaggerations, and deformities manifested in the exercise of the mental powers, struck out and established the constitution—nay, the very organization of mind! But a still deeper debt do we owe to Spurzheim, whose sagacity, amidst a labyrinth of apparent absurdity, found a clue to guide him to the shrine of Reason—whose resistless understanding penetrated the chaos of deformities, exaggerations, and abuses, and saw beneath the crude and shapeless mass, the true design of Omniscient Benevolence. It is no longer a chaos, but a creation; not the creation of the philosopher, but the creation of God, where every thing is good.

We now know the extent and boundaries of every region within our dominion; we know the nature of the soil in every district; what it will spontaneously pour forth—what attention and culture will produce. It is for us to use the plough, the spade, and the harrow—to sow the good seed, to plant the olive and the vine—to pluck up the tares, to root out the brambles.

"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" We were aware before, but now we *know* with redoubled conviction, that if we sow the wind, we must reap the whirlwind.

From time to time arise men of highly gifted minds —persuasive, powerful, irresistible reformers. It would be profane here to advert to the *inspired* messengers of God: of the *uninspired*, none has given to his race more valuable lessons for its gradual improvement, its progressive exaltation, its ultimate felicity, than the instructor we have lost. Enthusiasm formed no part of his character—all was dispassionate reason; yet, if his precepts were to be influential in proportion to their worth—if society would but condescend to profit, as far as it might, by his instructions, the perfectibility of man, however visionary, would not appear altogether a dream; but in the lapse of time, however near mankind may approach, however far they may fall short of the point of perfection, future ages may look back to the present, and with conscious obligation, and rejoicing gratitude, exclaim, "Hallowed be the memory, perpetual the influence of SPURZHEIM!"

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